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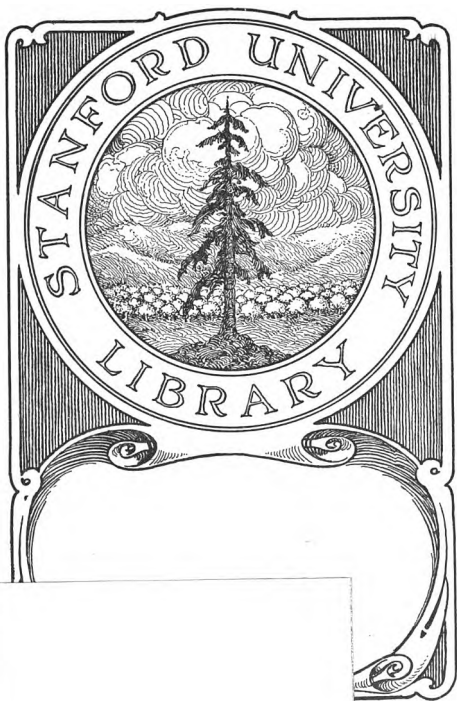


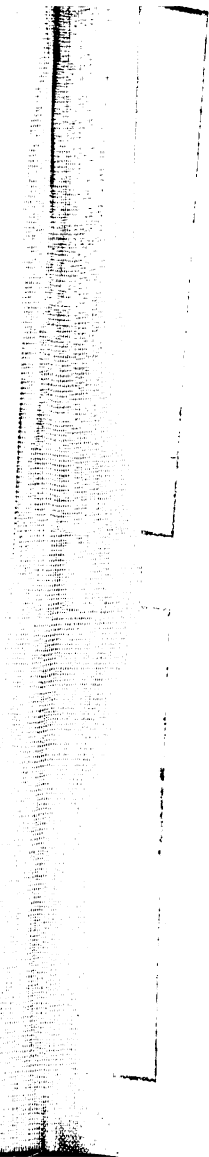
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CHRONICLES
OF
THE CRUSADES

CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVES OF THE
CRUSADE OF RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

BY
RICHARD OF DEVIZES AND GEOFFREY DE VINSAUF

AND OF THE
CRUSADE OF SAINT LOUIS

BY
LORD JOHN DE JOINVILLE

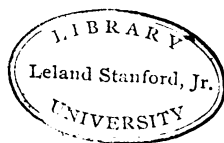
WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES AND AN INDEX



LONDON
GEORGE BELL AND SONS

1900
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[Reprinted from Stereotype plates.]



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PREFACE.

THE present volume comprises the three most interesting contemporary Chronicles of the Crusades which have been handed down to us; two of them recording very fully the romantic deeds of our lion-hearted Plantagenet; the third the chivalric career of the pious and exemplary Saint Louis of France.

Of the author of the first of these Chronicles, Richard of Devizes, nothing is known beyond what he himself informs us in his preface, by which it appears, that he was in early life a monk of St. Swithin's Priory at Winchester, and subsequently a Carthusian of Witham. Other works have been ascribed to the same writer, but there is great uncertainty as to their authorship. His Chronicle is valuable, because it connects affairs which were passing in England with the events which took place simultaneously in the Holy Land. The original Latin was first published by the English Historical Society, under the editorial care of the Rev. Joseph Stevenson. From that edition, a translation was made by the Rev. Dr. Giles, in 1841, which is here reprinted, with occasional emendations by himself.

The second work in this series is the History of the Expedition of Richard Cœur de Lion to the Holy Land, by Geoffrey de Vinsauf (or Vinosalvo). Little is known of this author, but the peculiarity of his name has given rise to several ingenious conjectures as to its etymology. Some derive it from *Vin* and *sauver*, and suppose he may have

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had the custody of wine in his monastery; others from the German words *Wein* and *sauffen*, which would imply tippling. Others, again, suppose that he may have been superintendent of the vineyard, the wine-pressing, preserving, &c. Pits, somewhat in confirmation of this latter notion, cites a MS. which he saw in Caius College, Cambridge, written by one Geoffrey, on preserving wines and fruits, and on grafting.

Whatever may be the true derivation of his name, Geoffrey is generally believed to have been an Englishman by birth, but of a Norman family. His writings are numerous, and several of them poetical. The following are the principal:—

- On preserving Wines, Fruits, &c. (*De Vinis, fructibus, &c., conservandis*).
- Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi, et aliorum in Terram Hierosolymorum.*
- To the Emperor Henry, about liberating King Richard (*Ad Cæsarem, &c.*).
- Monody on the Death of King Richard (*Monodia, &c.*).
- To William Longchamps, Bishop of Ely, and Chancellor (*Ad Wilhelmum, &c.*).
- Of the State of the Roman Court (*De Statu Curie Romanæ*).
- Manual or Handbook (*Enchiridion*).
- On New Poetry (*De Poetria Nova*).
- On Rhetoric (*De Arte dicendi*).
- On Ethics (*De Rebus Ethicis*).

But of all his works, the most important and intrinsically valuable is his History of the Third Crusade, under Richard the First of England and Philip Augustus of France. It is the only Chronicle written by an eye-witness, of those furious assaults which the army of Saladin made upon the Christians, and of the firmness with which the lion-hearted Richard withstood and repulsed them. If the reader takes the trouble of comparing Geoffrey's full and interesting account of the Crusade with that of Richard of Devizes, he will per-

ceive how much superior it is in every respect. Geoffrey lived to see the death of King Richard, and the accession of his brother John, and it is much to be lamented that he breaks off his history, somewhat abruptly, just at the moment when the Crusaders embark on board ship to leave the Holy Land, at the end of the year 1192. The original of this interesting record was printed for the first time complete in the second volume of Gale and Fell's Collection in 1687, but fragments had previously been given by Bongars in his "*Gesta Dei per Francos*." The present translation is the conjoint labour of a classical scholar and a gentleman well read in Mediæval history; a mode of proceeding which, after some experiment, it was found advisable to adopt, our author's corrupt Latin being frequently so vague and uncertain as to defy the best scholar who has not made the lore of the middle ages his particular study.

The third and last, and by no means the least interesting work in this volume, is Joinville's *Memoirs of Saint Louis*, the crusading king of France. The translation is by Colonel Johnes, of Hafod, and is given entire, with all the notes which are really illustrative of the author. Head-lines, dates, and an index have been added; which have, at least, this merit, that no previous edition, either English or French, has any of these useful accompaniments. The Biographical Sketch of Joinville is compiled from Colonel Johnes's materials, the *Biographie Universelle*, and other sources.

H. G. B.

August, 1842.

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RICHARD OF DEVIZES.

PROLOGUE.

To the Venerable Father Robert, his very good Lord, formerly Prior of the Church of Winchester, health to persevere in the good work he has begun, his faithful servant, Richard, surnamed of Devizes, sends greeting :—

SECT. 1. AFTER you had happily proceeded to the Charter House* from our church of Winchester, much and often did I desire to follow you who had thus departed, peradventure to remain with you, but certainly to behold what you were about, how you lived, and whether the Carthusian cell is more exalted and nearer heaven than the cloister of Winchester. It pleased God at length to satisfy my wish. I came, and oh that I had come alone! I went thither making the third, and those who went with me were the cause of my return. My desire displeased them, and they caused my fervour, I will not say error, to grow cold. I saw with you that which elsewhere I had not seen, which I could not have believed, and which I could not sufficiently admire. In each of your cells there is one door according to custom, which you are permitted to open at pleasure, but to go out by it is not permitted, except so much as that one foot should always remain in the cell, within the threshold. The brethren may step out with one foot, whichever they please, but the other must remain in the cell. A great and solemn oath is to be taken that the door by which it is not permitted to enter or depart

* At Witham.

should be kept open. I am astonished also at another thing ; abounding in all the good things of this world, as having nothing, yet possessing all things, more compassionate and humane than all men, having the most perfect love one to another, you divide the affection of charity to strangers, you bless without giving supplies to your guests. Nor do I less admire, in the third place, that living to yourselves apart out of society, and singly, you understand all the great things achieved in the world as they happen, and even sometimes you know them prior to their being accomplished. Do not, however, consider it want of respect in me to your more than Pythagorean taciturnity, if I shall dare presume to address men of so great gravity, and so arduous profession, rather with the trifles of the world than mere idle gossip.

Sect. 2. Nevertheless, although, as it is thought, the Om-niscient God is with you and in you, and through Him you know all things, and not from man, nor yet by man, you were pleased, as you said, that my essay would be a solace to you, inasmuch as in the first place I should write to you a history of the fresh changes, which the world has produced, turning squares into circles (more especially since your transmigration to the celled heaven, by means of which the world may appear more worthless to you, having its fickleness before your eyes), and, secondly, that a well-known hand might recal to you the memory of one beloved.

Oh ! what delight ! if that holy spirit, if the angel of the Lord, if the deified man who is become already of the number of the gods, should deign to remember me before the great God, me, who am scarcely worthy to be accounted a man. I have done that which you desired, do that which you have promised. And that the little book may have a commencement of some importance, I have begun a little higher than was stipulated, making our Royal house troubled like that of Œdipus, the bounds of my work, commencing at the latter part, not daring to hope to unravel the whole. Why, and how, and when, the father may have crowned his son ; how great things and of what importance thence ensued ; who and how often and what regions they embroiled ; with what success they all ended I have left to those who produce greater works : my narrative serves only for the living.

RICHARD OF DEVIZES

IN THE YEAR OF THE LORD MCLXXXIX.

SECT. 3. Now in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1189, Richard, the son of king Henry II. by Eleanor, brother or Henry III.,* was consecrated king of the English by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster, on the third of the nones of September (3 Sept.). On the very day of the coronation, about that solemn hour, in which the Son was imolated to the Father, a sacrifice of the Jews to their father the devil was commenced in the city of London, and so long was the duration of this famous mystery, that the holocaust could scarcely be accomplished the ensuing day. The other cities and towns of the kingdom emulated the faith of the Londoners, and with a like devotion despatched their blood-suckers† with blood to hell. In this commotion there was prepared, although unequally, some evil against the wicked, everywhere throughout the realm, only Winchester alone, the people being prudent and circumspect, and the city always acting mildly spared its vermin. It never did any thing overspeedily; fearing nothing more than to repent, it considers the result of every thing before the commencement. It was unwilling, unprepared, to cast up violently through the parts the indigestion by which it was oppressed to its bodily peril and it was careful for its bowels, in the mean time tempe-

* Henry, son of King Henry II., is frequently styled Henry the Third, in the early Chronicles.

† Jews, so called probably from their usurious practices.

ately concealing its uneasiness, until it should be possible for it, at a convenient time for cure, to cast out the whole cause of the disease at once and once for all.

Sect. 4. Not without the anxious solicitude and amazement of many, a bat was seen, in the middle and bright part of the day, to flutter through the monastery, inconveniently recircling in the same tracks, and especially around the king's throne.

Sect. 5. William de Longchamp, who had been the chancellor of the earl of Poitiers before his accession, when the earl was crowned king, considered his office to have profited as much for the better, as a kingdom is superior to an earldom.

Sect. 6. A circumstance happened on the selfsame day of the coronation in Westminster Abbey, a presage of such portentous omen, as then was hardly allowable to be related even in a whisper. At Complin, the last hour of the day, the first peal that day happened to be rung, neither by any agreement, nor even the ministers of the church themselves being aware of it, till after it was done; for Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, and the solemn service of vespers and two masses were celebrated without any ringing of peals.

Sect. 7. Stephen de Marzia,* seneschal of Anjou, under the king lately deceased, he great and mighty, singularly fierce, and the master of his lord, being taken and cast into chains, was dragged to Winchester, where being made a gazing-stock to angels and to men, emaciated with woeful hunger, and broken with the weight of his irons, he was constrained to the payment of thirty thousand pounds of money of Anjou, and the promise of fifteen thousand pounds, for his ransom. Ralph de Glanville, justiciary of the realm of England and the king's eye, a man not inferior to Stephen, except in manners and riches, being deprived of authority and given into custody, redeemed merely his liberty to go and come for fifteen thousand pounds of silver. And whereas this name, Glanville, had been so great the day before, a name as it were above every name, so that whosoever, to whom it should be given by the Lord, would converse among princes, and would be adored by the people, yet the next morning there remained not one in the land who could be called by this name. That

* Stephen de Marzia, otherwise called Stephen de Turonis.

was the ruin of those two, to wit, of Stephen and Ralph, which also it is certain has been the ruin of thousands before them, and which hereafter may ruin others, namely, a suspicion arising from the confidence of their former lord.

Sect. 8. John, the king's brother, who alone of the sons of his mother, queen Eleanor, survived his brother, besides the earldom of Mortain, which, by his father's gift, he had long enjoyed, was so greatly enriched and increased in England by his brother, that both privately and publicly it was affirmed by many that the king had no thoughts of returning to the kingdom, and that his brother, already no less powerful than himself, if he should not restrain his innate temper, would, impelled by the desire of sovereignty, endeavour to drive him vanquished from the realm.

Sect. 9. The time of commencing his journey pressed hard upon King Richard, as he, who had been first of all the princes on this side the Alps in the taking up of the cross, was unwilling to be last in setting out. A king worthy of the name of king, who, in the first year of his reign, left the kingdom of England for Christ, scarcely otherwise than if he had departed never to return. So great was the devotion of the man, so hastily, so quickly and so speedily did he run, yea fly, to avenge the wrongs of Christ. However, whilst he kept the greater matter in his mind, giving himself in some little measure to deliberation for the kingdom, having received power from the pope that he might withdraw the cross from such of his own subjects, as he should desire, for the government of his kingdom, he first appointed Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham, to be chief justice of the whole realm, and with design, as is thought by many, further creating him a young earl of Northumberland out of an old bishop, the custody of as many castles as he liked being yielded to him, he diligently cleared from his coffers ten thousand pounds of silver. Geoffrey Fitz Peter, William Briwere, and Hugh Bardulf being permitted to remain at home, the cross being withdrawn from them, the king's treasurer transferred the whole collections of the three as three nuts into the Exchequer. All the sheriffs of the kingdom, on any trivial accusation falling under the king's displeasure, were deprived of their unlucky power, and scarcely permitted to see his face, even by the mediation of inestimable treasure. Ralph de Glanville, than whom none

of his time was more subtle whilst he was in power, now being reduced to a private person by his prince, was so stupified through grief, that his son-in-law, Ralph de Ardenne, utterly lost, by reason of his careless talk, whatever he had previously acquired by the judgment of his mouth. He too, himself, because he was an old man, and not able to bear fatigue, if he had been willing to give the king that little which remained after the payment of the fine, as a gratuity, would easily have obtained a remission of the peril of the journey. The king received security from the tributary kings of the Welsh and of the Scots, that they would not pass their borders for the annoyance of England during his absence.

Sect. 10. Godfrey, son of that renowned Richard de Luci, Richard (Fitz Neale) the treasurer, Hubert Walter, and William de Longchamp, four men of no small virtue, and of no mean praise, were elected at Pippewelle to the four vacant sees, viz. Winchester, London, Salisbury, and Ely. They all obtained sufficient canonical nomination, and especially the elect of Winchester, who obtained his nomination to the dignity on the seventeenth of the kalends of October (Sept. 15), while the election of the other three was delayed till the morrow, the king consenting and the archbishop confirming what was done, although at the first he would rather have had it somewhat otherwise : concerning which it wonderfully happened that he, who had been nominated to one of the sees by the archbishop's means, died that very day. William, bishop elect of Ely, retained the king's seal on the payment of three thousand pounds of silver, although Reginald the Italian had bid one thousand more. The bishops elect of Winchester and Salisbury were consecrated at Westminster, by Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, on the eleventh of the kalends of November (Oct. 22). On that day, Hugh de Nonante, bishop of Coventry, laid his complaint before the archbishop and bishops assembled at the consecration of the bishops elect, against his monks of Coventry, for having laid violent hands on him and drawn his blood before the altar. He had also expelled the greater part of the congregation before his complaint, nor did he cease from his importunity until he had obtained the sanction of all the bishops in attestation to the pope against the monks.

Sect. 11. Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, mindful of his profession, suing for the restoration of the possessions of his church, which had been taken away, as no one had any right of replevin against the church of Winchester with respect to its two manors, namely Meones and Weregrave, recovered them by judicial decree, three thousand pounds of silver being privately given to the king. Nor did the considerate man omit at the same time to pay a fine to the king for the indemnity of the church's treasure, for his patrimony, for the county of Hampshire and for the custody of the castles of Winchester and Porchester. And because the time for the payment of so much money was nigh at hand, as he could not pass over the day fixed for the payment without detriment to the whole business, and he could find no nearer resource under heaven, although against his will, he laid his hand on the treasure of his church, to restore which, however, he obliged himself and his successors, providing security to the convent by the testimony of a sealed bond. A man of such courtesy and moderation, who not even when angry ever did any thing to those who were under him, but what savoured of mildness: truly of his family, and one of his familiars, of whom it is said, under whom to live is to reign.

Sect. 12. The king readily disburthened all, whose money was a burthen to them, such powers and possessions as they chose being given to anybody at pleasure; wherewith also on a time an old acquaintance in the company joking him, he broke off with this evasion, "I would sell London if I could find a chapman." Many a one might have been forewarned by that expression, had it been uttered sooner, not to learn to be a wise merchant, after the English proverb, "by buying for a dozen, and selling for one and a half."

IN THE YEAR OF THE LORD MCMC.

Sect. 13. In the year from the incarnation of the Lord 1190,* the king crossed the Channel to Neustria (Normandy), the care of the whole kingdom being committed to the chancellor.

Richard, bishop elect of London, and William of Ely, were

* December 12, 1189.

consecrated by Archbishop Baldwin at Westminster, the second of the kalends of January (Dec. 31, 1189). William de Mandeville, earl of Albemarle, being seized with delirium in an acute semitertian fever, died at Gisorz: whose relict, a woman almost a man, who was deficient in nothing masculine but manhood, William de Fortibus, a knight a thousand times approved in arms, received to wife by King Richard's gift, together with all the honours of her former husband.

Sect. 14. William, bishop of Ely, and the king's chancellor, by nature a second Jacob, although he did not wrestle with the angel, a goodly person, making up in mind for his shortness in stature, secure for his master's love, and presuming on his favour, because all power was, is, and will be impatient of a partner, expelled Hugh de Pusac from the Exchequer, and barely leaving him even his sword with which he had been invested as an earl of the king's hand, after a short time, deprived him of the honour of his earldom also. And lest the bishop of Durham alone should bewail his misfortunes, the villain, who was now more cruel than a wild beast, and spared nobody, fell upon the bishop of Winchester also. The custody of the castles and county is taken away from him, nor is he even permitted to enjoy his own patrimony. The kingdom is disturbed, and the discontented are charged with disaffection to the king. Everybody crosses the sea to importune the king against the tyrant, but he having crossed first of all, briefly related before the king a partial account of his entire proceeding and expulsion; by whom also he was fully instructed in all things to be done; he thus foiled the adverse wishes of his rivals, and was on his return before those who assailed him could obtain admission to the king's presence. So he returns to the English not less powerful and prosperous, than one who has accomplished all things whatsoever he desired. The king having returned from Gascony, where he had forcibly put down the thieves, and captured the holds they had occupied, all those whom the chancellor had injured assembled before him, who satisfying every one as then to each seemed good, sent them all back to the chancellor with such letters as they then desired. John, bishop of Norwich, being also one of those who threatened Saladin, amply furnished for his journey and the cause, whilst proceeding on his way in the borders of Burgundy, fell among

robbers, who took from him all his substance; and, as he had no means left wherewith he might proceed, he turned his course towards the pope, and when with his insinuation he had bemoaned his mischance and poverty to him, the clemency of the Holy See dismissed him home, absolved from his vow.

Sect. 15. The bishop of Winchester, being affected with a serious disease, remained some time beyond the sea. The bishop of Durham in haste proceeded direct to London, but not being received by the barons of the Exchequer, he hastily, as if sure to triumph, pursues his way after the chancellor, who at that time had gone on an expedition towards Lincoln; whom having overtaken, he saluted in the king's name, not freely nor without a frown, and then questioned him seriously concerning the affairs of state, and, indeed, as if he would not suffer any thing to be done without his consent. He neglected fine language and long words, and while he boasted too much of power not yet received, not considering with whom he was speaking, he loosely uttered whatever he ought to have kept secret. At the conclusion of his address, the staff is put forth to silence talk, the king's solemn act much to be revered is exhibited for recital. The mountains travail, the silly mouse is produced. The observance of strict silence is enjoined during the king's mandate; all were hushed, and attentive held their tongues. The epistle is read in public, which would have been much more to be feared if it had not been so soon read; he (Longchamp), well able to conceal his device, shrewdly deferred to answer what he had heard till the seventh day, appointing their place of conference at Tickhill. On the day appointed the bishop of Durham comes to the castle, and his attendants being commanded to wait for him before the gates, he goes into the chancellor quite alone; he who before had held his peace, speaks first, and compels the deceived to recite with his own mouth letters he had obtained after the former against whatever he had hoped. As he was preparing to answer, he added, "The other day while you were speaking it was time for me to be silent; now that you may discern why I have taken a time for speaking, you being silent; as my lord the king lives, you shall not depart hence until you have given me hostages for all the castles which you hold being delivered up to me, for I do not take you as a bishop

a bishop, but as a chancellor a chancellor!" The ensnared had neither the firmness nor the opportunity to resist; the hostages are given, and at the term assigned the castles are given up for the restoring of the hostages. William, bishop of Worcester, who succeeded next to Baldwin, went the way of all flesh.

Sect. 16. The lord bishop of Winchester, at length recovering in Neustria, and also desiring to receive back the things taken from him, recrossed with all the speed he could, and found the chancellor besieging the castle of Gloucester. Whose arrival being known, the chancellor goes forth to meet him as he comes, and having heartily embraced and kissed him, says, "You have come at a most desirable time, dear friend! are we to prosecute the siege or desist?" To whom the bishop replies, "If you desire peace, lay down arms." He, quick of apprehension, perceived the force of the words, and commanded the heralds to sound the retreat; he also restored to the bishop his patrimony without dispute, but that only. All the others, who had crossed the sea against the chancellor, profited less than nothing. William, legate of the Apostolic See, held a council at Westminster, in which, lest there should be nothing done to be reported of him hereafter, he sentenced all religion to be expelled from Coventry cathedral, and prebendary clerks to be substituted in place of the monks.

Sect. 17. William, the wonderful bishop of Ely, chancellor of the king, justiciary of the kingdom, of threefold charge and threefold title, that he might use both hands as the right, and that the sword of Peter might succour the sword of the ruler, took upon himself the office of legate of all England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, which he obtained from the pope at the instance of the king, who would not otherwise set out, by Reginald, bishop of Bath. Therefore successful in every office which he craved, he passed to and fro through the kingdom with the rapidity of a flash of lightning.

The King of Darkness, that old incendiary, having added fresh fuel, fanned the ancient spark between the church of Salisbury and the monastery of Malmesbury into renewed flames. The abbot is roused not now to make the profession of pontiff, but to disavow the very title of the bishop as well as his crosier. Royal letters to the chancellor were obtained,

by which the abbot should be compelled to respond at law to the motions of the bishop. Nor did the man whose affairs were at stake forget himself; no peril could ever overtake him unprovided, who never knew the loss of any thing through sloth. He repelled one nail by another, being presented by the king with letters invalidating the former letters. The chancellor having perceived the shameful contrariety of the mandates of his prince, lest the king's fame should be injured by the fact, if he proceeded in the cause, deferred all process of both the one party and the other till the king's return.

Sect. 18. King Richard exacted an oath from his two brothers, John, his own brother, and Geoffrey, a bastard, that they would not enter England within three years from his departure, the three years to be reckoned from the day of his starting from Tours; through the entreaties of his mother, however, dispensing so far concerning John, that passing into England with the chancellor's approbation, he should abide his judgment, and at his pleasure he should either remain in the kingdom, or live in exile.

Queen Eleanor's dowry was recognized throughout the king's territories by a solemn act, and delivered up to her, so that she who had before lived on the Exchequer might thenceforward live on her own.

The king's fleet, having left its own shores, sailed round Spain, and from the ocean having entered the Mediterranean, which further on is called the Grecian Sea, by the Straits of Africa, steered on to Marseilles, there to await the king.

The king of France and the king of England, having held a council at Tours and again at Vezelay, and confirmed the treaty between themselves and their kingdoms, and having settled and disposed of all things on both sides according to their pleasure, depart from each other with their respective armies. The Frenchman, being subject to sickness at sea, marches by land to Sicily; the Englishman, on the contrary, about to proceed by sea, comes to Marseilles to his ships. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, being the only bishops of all England who accomplished their vows, follow the king to Sicily, and arrive first in the land of Juda.

Sect. 19. The monks of the order of Cluni were not wont

to supplant one another in their priories and government either by entreaty or bribes, and although some of them have sometimes attempted something of that sort, that however we have seen visited with condign punishment. There was a certain venerable man elected prior of Montacute solely on account of his worth, Josceline by name, in whom you could discern nothing but what was praiseworthy. To supplant this so good a man there came a certain one, whose name it is not necessary to mention, one of his false brethren, with letters, obtained by great cunning from the abbot of Cluni, by which it was commanded that the prior should resign to the bearer of the present letters, and the congregation receive him for their prelate. The prior by some means foreknew what commodity the dealer had come to seek, wherefore, without awaiting the mandate, he vacated his seat in the chapter, and the congregation being present, addressed him, "Friend, for what art thou come?" He, having tarried long that he might appear unwillingly to receive that, which he had come to take by violence, at length betook himself to his seat, and anon imprecated himself, saying, "O thou, who with unalterable purpose governest the world, whose power takes its pastime in human affairs, who puttest down the mighty and exaltest the humble! O thou just judge Jesu Christ, if wrongfully I here preside, without delay and manifestly do thou vouchsafe to shew!" Behold the miracle! On that same day he lost his speech; on the next, his life; on the third, being consigned to the earth, he learnt by experience, and taught by example, that sordid plunder is never followed by prosperous results.

A certain monk of Glastonbury, in hopes of promotion, courted Earl John with many presents; but just as he should have come to receive it, a certain beam having suddenly given way, fell in his face, so that, bruised and wholly disfigured, he lost both his eggs (*gy.* expectations) and his money together.

Sect. 20. The ships which the king found already prepared on the shore were one hundred in number, and fourteen busses, vessels of great magnitude and admirable swiftness, strong vessels and very sound, whereof this was the equipage and appointment. The first of the ships had three spare rudders, thirteen anchors, thirty oars. two sails. three sets of

ropes of all kinds, and besides these double whatever a ship can want, except the mast and the ship's boat. There is appointed to the ship's command a most experienced steersman, and fourteen subordinate attendants picked for the service are assigned him. The ship is freighted with forty horses of value, trained to arms, and with arms of all kinds for as many horsemen, and forty foot, and fifteen sailors, and with an entire year's provisions for as many men and horses. There was one appointment for all the ships, but each of the busses received a double appointment and freight. The king's treasure, which was very great and inestimable, was divided amongst the ships and busses, that if one part should experience danger, the rest might be saved. All things being thus arranged, the king himself, with a small household, and the chief men of his army, with his attendants, having quitted the shore, advanced before the fleet in galleys, and being daily entertained by the maritime towns, taking along with them the larger ships and busses of that sea, arrived prosperously at Messina.* So great was the splendour of the approaching armament, such the clashing and brilliancy of their arms, so noble the sound of the trumpets and clarions, that the city shook and was greatly astounded, and there came to meet the king a multitude of all ages, people without number, wondering and proclaiming with what exceeding glory and magnificence that king had arrived, surpassing the king of France, who with his forces had arrived seven days before. Andasmuch as the king of France had been already received to the palace of Tancred, king of Sicily, within the walls, the king of England pitched his camp without the city. The same day the king of France, knowing of the arrival of his grandson and brother, flies to his reception, nor could their features sufficiently express in embraces and kisses how much each of them rejoiced in the other. The armies cheered one another with mutual applause and intercourse, as if so many thousand men had been all of one heart and one mind. In the pastimes is the holiday spent until the evening, and the merry kings departing, although not satiated, return every to his own quarters. On the next day the king of England presently caused gibbets to be erected without the

* He arrives at Messina, Sept. 23.

camp to hang thereon thieves and robbers. The judges delegated spared neither sex nor age; the cause of the stranger and the native found the like law and the like punishment. The king of France, whatever transgression his people committed, or whatever offence was committed against them, took no notice and held his peace; the king of England esteeming the country of those implicated in guilt as a matter of no consequence, considered every man his own, and left no transgression unpunished, wherefore the one was called a Lamb by the Griffones, the other obtained the name of a Lion.

Sect. 21. The king of England sent his messengers to the king of Sicily, demanding Johanna his sister, formerly queen of Sicily, and her dowry, with a golden seat and the whole legacy which King William had bequeathed to his father, King Henry, namely, a golden table of twelve feet in length, a silk tent, a hundred of the best galleys with all their necessaries for two years, sixty thousand silinas of wheat, sixty thousand of barley, sixty thousand of wine, four and twenty golden cups, and four and twenty golden dishes. The king of Sicily, setting little by the demands of the king of the English, and still less considering his own exigencies, sent him back his sister with the ordinary furniture of her bed, having given her, however, with royal consideration, a thousand thousand terrini for her expenses. On the third day following, the king of England, having passed over the great river Del Far, which separates Calabria from Sicily, entered Calabria in arms, and took therein the well-fortified town which is called La Banniere, and having expelled the Griffones, established his sister there, and secured the place with an armed garrison. Again the king took a very strong castle, which is called the Griffones' Monastery, on the same river Del Far, situated between La Banniere and Messina, and fortified it when taken; and having without mercy despatched by various tortures the Griffones who had resisted, caused them to be exhibited as a gazing-stock to their friends. Wido, king of Jerusalem, sent word to Philip, king of the French, and Richard, king of the English, whilst wintering in Sicily, that the residue of the Christians who lay before Acre would, on account of their weakness and the violence of the pagans, either be obliged to depart or perish, unless very shortly sustained. To aid whom, the kings sent forward Henry, count

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of Champagne, and Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and Ralph de Glanville, with a strong army; of whom Archbishop Baldwin and Ralph de Glanville died at the siege of the city, which the Latins call Acre and the Jews Accaron, while the kings still remained in Sicily.

Sect. 22. The Griffones, before King Richard's arrival in Sicily, were more powerful than all the mighty of that region, and having moreover always hated the people beyond the Alps, and now irritated by recent occurrences more inveterate than ever, kept the peace with all who claimed the king of France for their master, but sought to wreak the entire vengeance of their wrongs on the king of the English and his tailed* followers, for the Greeks and Sicilians followed that king about and called them tailed English. Thereupon all intercourse with the country is denied the English by proclamation; they are murdered both day and night by forties and fifties, wherever they are found unarmed. The slaughter was daily multiplied, and it was madly purposed to go on until they should either destroy or put them all to flight. The king of England, excited by these disorders, raged like the fiercest lion, and vented his anger in a manner worthy that noble beast. His fury astounded his nearest friends, and his whole court, the famous princes of his army sat around his throne, each according to his rank, and if any one might dare to raise his eyes to look him in the face, it would be very easy to read in the ruler's countenance what he silently considered in his mind. After a long and deep silence, the king disburdened his indignant lips as follows.

Sect. 23. "O, my soldiers! my kingdom's strength and crown! who have endured with me a thousand perils, you, who by might have subdued before me so many tyrants and cities, do you now see how a cowardly rabble insults us? Shall we vanquish Turks and Arabs? shall we be a terror to nations the most invincible? shall our right hand make us a way even to the ends of the world for the cross of Christ? shall we restore the kingdom to Israel, when we have turned our backs before vile and effeminate Griffones? Shall we, subdued here in the confines of our own country, proceed

* The origin of this joke is unknown.

further, that the sloth of the English may become a by-word to the ends of the earth? Am I not right, then, O my friends, in regarding this as a new cause of sorrow? Truly, methinks I see you deliberately spare your pains, that perchance you may the better contend with Saladin hereafter. I, your lord and king, love you; I am solicitous for your honour; I tell you, I warn you again and again, if now you depart thus unrevenged, the mention of this base flight will both precede and accompany you. Old women and children will be raised up against you, and assurance will yield a double energy to every enemy against the runaways. I know that he who saves any one by constraint, does the same as kill him; the king will retain no man against his will. I am unwilling to compel any one of you to stay with me, lest the fear of one should shake another's confidence in the battle. Let every one follow what he may have chosen, but I will either die here or will revenge these wrongs common to me and you. If hence I depart alive, Saladin will see me only a conqueror; will you depart, and leave me, your king, alone to meet the conflict?"

Sect. 24. The king had scarcely well concluded his harangue, when all his brave and valiant men burst out, troubled only that their lord appeared to mistrust his men. They promise that they will comply from their souls with whatever he shall enjoin; they are ready to penetrate mountains and walls of brass, should he but give a nod: all Sicily, at his command alone, shall be subjected to him by their labour; if he should but desire it, as far as the Pillars of Hercules shall be steeped in blood. As the clamour, hushed by the ruler's gravity, subsided, "I am pleased," said he, "with what I hear; you refresh my spirits by your readiness to cast off your disgrace. And, as delay has always been hurtful to those who are prepared, we must make haste, so that whatever we design may be sudden. Messina shall be taken by me in the first place, the Griffones shall either ransom themselves, or be sold. If King Tancred do not more speedily satisfy me for my sister's dowry and the legacy of King William, which falls to me in right of my father, after the depopulation of his kingdom, he shall be compelled to restore them fourfold. Whatever belongs to the inhabitants shall be a prey for everybody to whom it shall fall; only

with my lord the king of the French, who lodges in the city, and with all his followers, shall perfect peace be preserved. Let two thousand bold knights,* the choice of the entire army, and a thousand foot, archers, be made ready within two days. Let the law be enforced without remission; let the footman, who flies full speed, lose his foot, the knight be deprived of his girdle. Let every man, according to military discipline, be disposed in line in exact array, and on the third day, at the sound of the horn, let them follow me. I will head them and shew them the way to the city!" The assembly separated with the greatest applause; the king, having relaxed the sternness of his countenance, was seen returning thanks for their good-will with his wonted affability of expression.

Sect. 25. It wonderfully fell out that not even the king's enemy could pretend that his cause was unjust. On the third day on which the army was to have been led forth to battle, very early in the morning, Richard, archbishop of Messina, the archbishop of Montreal, the archbishop of Pisa, Margarinus Admiralis, Jordan de Pin, and many other of King Tancred's familiar friends, having taken with them Philip, king of the French, the bishop of Carnot, the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Nevers and Perch, and many followers of the king of France, also, the archbishops of Rouen and Auch, the bishops of Evreux and Bayonne, and all who were supposed to have any influence with the English, came reverently to the king of England, that they might cause satisfaction for all his complaints to be given to his content. The king, after long and earnest solicitation, is prevailed on by the entreaty of such honourable men, and commits the matter to be settled by their arbitration. They would consider well the enormity of what he had had to brook, and would provide that the satisfaction should be answerable to the offence. Whatever their general deliberation should have determined to be sufficient, would be satisfactory to him, if only, from that very moment, none of the Griffones would lay hands on his men. Those who had come were even more astonished than rejoiced at this unhopd-for clemency, and giving him at once what he had last propounded, they retired from the king's presence, and were assembled at some distance to treat of the rest.

* Literally, men who have not their hearts in their boots.

Sect. 26. The king's army having on the previous day been numbered according to the aforementioned order, was with solemn silence in arms before the camp, awaiting the herald, from the rising of the sun, and the framers of the peace, not so easily coming to a determination, had protracted the day till full the third hour, when behold, suddenly and unexpectedly, there was proclaimed by a voice, too distinctly heard, before the gates, "To arms, to arms, men! Hugo Brunus is taken and being murdered by the Griffones, all he has is being plundered, and his men are being slaughtered." The cry of the breach of peace confounded those who were treating for the peace, and the king of France broke forth in the following speech: "I take it that God has hated these men, and hardened their hearts that they may fall into the hands of the destroyer:" and having quickly returned, with all who were with him, to the king's pavilion, he found him already girding on his sword, whom he thus briefly addressed: "I will be a witness before all men, whatever be the consequence, that thou art blameless, if at length thou takest arms against the cursed Griffones." When he had said this, he departed; those who had accompanied him followed, and were received into the city. The king of England proceeds in arms; the terrible standard of the dragon is borne in front unfurled, while behind the king the sound of the trumpet excites the army. The sun shone brightly on the golden shields, and the mountains were resplendent in their glare; they marched cautiously and orderly, and the affair was managed without show. The Griffones, on the contrary, the city gates being closed, stood armed at the battlements of the walls and towers, as yet fearing nothing, and incessantly discharged their darts upon the enemy. The king, acquainted with nothing better than to take cities by storm and batter forts, let their quivers be emptied first, and then at length made his first assault by his archers who preceded the army. The sky is hidden by the shower of arrows, a thousand darts pierce through the shields spread abroad on the ramparts, nothing could save the rebels against the force of the darts. The walls are left without guard, because no one could look out of doors, but he would have an arrow in his eye before he could shut it.

Sect. 27. In the mean time, the king with his troops, without repulse, freely and as though with permission,

approached the gates of the city, which, with the application of the battering-ram, he forced in an instant, and having led in his army, took every hold in the city, even to Tancred's palace and the lodgings of the French around their king's quarters, which he spared in respect of the king his lord. The standards of the victors are planted on the towers through the whole circuit of the city, and each of the surrendered fortifications he intrusted to particular captains of his army, and caused his nobles to take up their quarters in the city. He took the sons of all the nobility both of the city and surrounding country as hostages, that they should either be redeemed at the king's price, or the remainder of the city should be delivered up to him without conflict, and he should take to himself satisfaction for his demands from their king Tancred. He began to attack the city about the fifth hour of the day, and took it the tenth hour; and having withdrawn his army, returned victorious to his camp. King Tancred, terrified at the words of those who announced to him the issue of the transaction, hastened to make an agreement with him, sending him twenty thousand ounces of gold for his sister's dowry, and other twenty thousand ounces of gold for the legacy of King William and the observance of perpetual peace towards him and his. This small sum is accepted with much ado and scornfully enough, the hostages are given back, and peace is sworn and confirmed by the nobles of both nations.

Sect. 28. The king of England, now having little confidence in the natives, built a new wooden fort of great strength and height by the walls of Messina, which, to the approach of the Griffones, he called "Mategriffun." The king's valour was greatly extolled, and the land kept silence at his presence. Walter, who from a monk and prior of Swithin's church at Winchester, had been advanced to be abbot of Westminster, died on the fifth of the calends of October.

Sect. 29. Queen Eleanor,* a matchless woman, beautiful and chaste, powerful and modest, meek and eloquent, which rarely went to be met with in a woman, who was advanced years enough to have had two husbands and two sons

Eleanor, queen of Lewis and Henry, mother of Henry and Richard.

crowned kings, still indefatigable for every undertaking, whose power was the admiration of her age, having taken with her the daughter of the king of the Navarrese, a maid more accomplished than beautiful, followed the king her son, and having overtaken him still abiding in Sicily, she came to Pisa, a city full of every good, and convenient for her reception, there to await the king's pleasure, together with the king of Navarre's ambassadors and the damsel. Many knew, what I wish that none of us had known. The same queen, in the time of her former husband, went to Jerusalem. Let none speak more thereof; I also know well. Be silent.

IN THE YEAR OF THE LORD MXXCI.

Sect. 30. The first conference between the earl of Mortain, the king's brother, and the chancellor, respecting the custody of certain castles and the money out of the Exchequer conceded to the earl by his brother,* was held at Winchester on *Lætare Hierusalem*.

Robert, prior of St. Swithin's, at Winchester, having left his priory and forsaken his profession, cast himself into the sect of the Carthusians, at Witham, for grief (or shall I say for devotion?)

Walter, prior of Bath, with a like fervour or distraction, had before presumed the selfsame thing; but once withdrawn, he seemed as yet to think of nothing less than a return.

Sect. 31. The king, although he had long ago sworn to the king of France that he would accept his sister as a consort, whom his father King Henry had provided for him, and for a long time had taken care of, because he was suspicious of the custody had of her, contemplated marrying the princess his mother had engaged. And that he might accomplish the desire without difficulty, with which he vehemently burned, he consulted the count of Flanders, a most eloquent man, and one who possessed an invaluable power of speech, by whose mediation the king of France released the king of England from his oath to marry his sister, and quit-claimed to him for ever the whole territory of *Vægesin* and *Gisorz*, having received from him ten thousand pounds of silver.

Sect. 32. The king of France, with his army, departing for

* March 4.

Jerusalem before the king of England, put to sea the third of the calends of April. The king of England, about to leave Sicily, caused the fort which he had built to be taken down, and stowed the whole of the materials in his ships to take along with him. Every sort of engine for the attack of fortifications, and every kind of arms which the heart of man could invent, he had all ready in his ships. Robert, son of William Fitz Ralph, was consecrated for the bishopric of Worcester by William de Longchamp, as yet legate, at Canterbury, on the third of the nones of May. The convent of Canterbury deposed their prior, whom Archbishop Baldwin had set over them, and substituted another in the place of the deposed.

Sect. 33. Walter, archbishop of Rouen, because, as is usual with the clergy, he was pusillanimous and timorous, having bidden adieu to Jerusalem from afar, resigned, unasked, all indignation against Saladin, and gave to the king all the provision he had brought for attacking him, and the cross; whilst, forgetting shame, he pretended, with that devotion which diffidence, the most wretched of mothers, brought forth, that pastors of the church should rather preach than fight, and that it is not meet for a bishop to wield other arms than those of virtue. But the king, to whom his money appeared more necessary than his personal presence, as if convinced by the overpowering argument, approved the allegations, and having arranged concerning the three years' contribution that he should furnish of a certain number of men and horses, sent him back again into England with his letters to William the chancellor; this being added at the end of the letters for honour and for all, that the chancellor should use his counsel in affairs of state. The king, having gained experience from the proceedings of this archbishop, purified his army, not permitting any one to come with him but such as could bear arms, and with a ready mind would use them; nor did he suffer those who returned to take back with them their money, which they had brought thus far, or their arms. The queen, also, his mother, who had been received with all honour, as it was meet, and after affectionate embraces had been led forth with great splendour, he caused return with the archbishop; having retained for himself the princess whom he had sought, and intrusted her to the

safe custody of his sister, who had now returned to the camp to meet her mother.

Sect. 34. John, bishop of Exeter, closed his last day.

Savaricus, archdeacon of Northampton, being also one of the many who had followed the king of England out of England to Sicily, was supplied by the king with letters patent, in the presence of the king's mother, to the justiciaries of England, containing the king's assent, and something more than an assent, that he should be promoted to whatever vacant diocese he could be elected to. These honourable acquisitions Savaricus sent to his kinsman, the bishop of Bath, into England, but he himself retired to Rome as one who had been best known among the Romans.

Sect. 35. Richard, king of England, in letters destined for England, taking leave of his whole kingdom, and giving strict injunction for the chancellor to be honoured by all, his fleet, more to be prized for its quality than its numbers, being in readiness, with a chosen and brave army, with his sister Johanna and the princess he was to marry, with all things which could be necessary for those going to war, or going to set out on a long journey, set sail on the fourth of the ides of April. In the fleet, moreover, there were one hundred and fifty-six ships, four-and-twenty busses, and thirty and nine galleys; the sum of the vessels two hundred and nineteen.

Sect. 36. The archbishop of Rouen came to England to the chancellor, by whom he was received and treated honourably, and much better than the king had commanded. Others also followed with many mandates, in all of which the conclusion was, that the chancellor should be obeyed by all. To his brother John especially, he sent word by every messenger, that he should adhere to the chancellor, that he should be a support to him against all men, and that he should not violate the oath he had given him. The king of England sent orders to the chancellor, and to the convent of Canterbury, and to the bishops of the province, that they should canonically and jointly provide for the metropolitan see, because, Baldwin being dead, it had been bereft of its prelate; for the abbacy, however, of Westminster, now vacant, it is permitted to the chancellor alone to ordain as he pleases. There happened an eclipse of the sun about the third hour of the day: those who were ignorant of the causes of

things were astonished, that in the middle of the day, no clouds obstructing the sun, the sun's rays should give a much feebler light than usual ; but those whom the motion of the universe occupies, say that the making deficiencies of the sun and moon does not signify any thing.

Sect. 37. John, the king's brother, who had long kept his ears open for it, when he knew for certain that his brother had turned his back on England, presently perambulated the kingdom in a more popular manner, nor did he forbid his followers calling him the king's heir. And as the earth is dreary in the sun's absence, so was the face of the kingdom altered at the king's departure. The nobles are all stirred up in arms, the castles are closed, the cities are fortified, intrenchments are thrown up. The archbishop of Rouen, not foreseeing more of the future than the fuel of error which was praised, knew well how so to give contentment to the chancellor, that at the same time he might not displease his rivals. Writs are privately despatched to the heads of the clergy and of the people, and the minds of everybody are excited against the chancellor. The knights of parliament willingly, though secretly, consented ; but the clergy, more fearful by nature, dared not swear obedience to either master. The chancellor, perceiving these things, dissembled, disdaining to know that any one would presume any how to attempt any thing against him.

Sect. 38. At length the pot is uncovered ; it is announced to him, that Gerard de Camville, a factious man and reckless of allegiance, had done homage to Earl John, the king's brother, for the castle of Lincoln, the custody whereof is known to belong to the inheritance of Nicholaa, the wife of the same Gerard, but under the king. The deed is considered to infringe upon the crown, and he resolves to go and revenge its commission. So having quickly collected a numerous army, he came into those parts, and having first made an attack against Wigmore, he compelled Roger de Mortimer, impeached for a conspiracy made against the king, with the Welsh, to surrender the castles, and abjure England for three years. As he departed, he was blamed by his associates for want of courage, because, while supported by the numerous soldiery of the castles, and abounding in advantages, he had given way, without a blow, at the bare threats of the priest.

Reproof was too late after the error ; Roger leaves the kingdom, and the chancellor gives orders to besiege Lincoln. Gerard was with the earl ; and his wife Nicholaa, proposing to herself nothing effeminate, defended the castle like a man. The chancellor was wholly busied about Lincoln, whilst Earl John occupied the castle of Nottingham and that of Tickhill, both very strong, the warden being compelled to the surrender by fear alone. He proceeded, moreover, to send word to the chancellor that he must raise the siege, or otherwise he would avenge the cause of his vassal ; that it was not proper to take from the loyal men of the kingdom, well known and free, their charges, and commit them to strangers and men unknown ; that it was a mark of his folly that he had intrusted the king's castles to such, because they would expose them to adventurers ; that if it should go with every barbarian with that facility, that even the castles should be ready at all times for their reception, that he would no longer bear in silence the destruction of his brother's kingdom and affairs.

Sect. 39. The chancellor, incredibly troubled at these threats, having summoned before him the peers and chiefs of the army, begins : " Never trust me if this man seeks not to subjugate the kingdom to himself ; what he presumes is exorbitant, even if he had a right to wear the crown by annual turns with his brother, for Eteocles has not yet completed a full year in his government." He uttered many words of anguish after this manner ; and then again having taken heart, as he was greater in moral courage than in physical, conceiving great things in his mind, he sent the archbishop of Rouen to the earl, demanding in an imperative manner that he should deliver up the castles, and that he should answer before the court of King's Bench for the breach of his oath to his brother. The archbishop, skilful in working with either hand, praised the constancy of the chancellor ; and having proceeded to the earl, after the delivery of the mandates, he whispered in his ear, that whatever others might say, he should dare something great, worthy of Gyara and the dungeon, if he desired to be any thing. In public, however, he advised that the earl and the chancellor should agree to an interview, and that a reference to arbitration should end their disagreement.

Sect. 40. The earl, greatly exasperated at the impropriety

of the mandates, was so altered in his whole body that a man would hardly have known him. Rancour made deep furrows in his forehead, his flaming eyes glistened, paleness discoloured the rosy complexion of his face, and I know what would have become of the chancellor, if in that hour of fury he had fallen as an apple into his hands while frantically raging. His indignation increased so much in his stifled breast, that it could not be kept from bursting out at least in part. "This son," said he, "of perdition, the worst of the evil ones, who first borrowed from the pleasantry of the French, and introduced among the English, the preposterous practice of kneeling, would not harass me, as you perceive, if I had not refused to learn the new craft offered to me!" He would fain have said more, whether true or false, but recalling his presence of mind, and repressing his rage, "If I have spoken amiss," said he, "O archbishop, I ask pardon." After these frivolous expressions, they applied themselves to the weighty matters. They consulted about the demands of the chancellor; and the counsel of the archbishop, that there should be a meeting of them both, was agreed to, about the middle of the day. The day was fixed for the fifth of the calends of August; the place without Winchester. The chancellor allowed what they had settled to stand, and, having broken up the siege, returned to London.

Sect. 41. The earl, however, fearing his craftiness, brought thither four thousand Welsh, that, if the chancellor should endeavour to take him during the truce, they, being placed in ambush close beside the conference, might thwart his endeavours by a sally. Moreover, he commanded that it should be summoned, and required that every one of his men, and others, his adherents, should be prepared to go to battle, should attend him at the place and on the day of the engagement, so that as the interview between himself and the lord of the whole land had been undertaken, at least he might escape alive, if he, who was more than a king, though less in his eyes, should transgress against the law, or should not consent to an arrangement. The chancellor, however, on the other hand, commanded that one-third of the soldiery, with all the arms of all England, should proceed to Winchester by the day appointed; moreover, at the expense of the king's revenue he also hired some Welsh, that if it should come to a contest

with the earl, he might have an equal array, and javelins threatening javelins.

Sect. 42. They came to the interview as was before agreed on, and it happened to terminate better than was feared. The agreement, moreover, made between the earl and the chancellor was thus, and in this way provided. First of all were named the three bishops of Winchester, London, and Bath, in whose fidelity each party considered himself secure. The bishops chose for the chancellor's part the three earls of Warren, of Arundel, of Clare, and certain other eight by name. For the earl's part, Stephen Ridel, the earl's chancellor, William de Venneval, Reginald de Wasseville, and certain other eight by name. These all, some beholding some touching the holy gospels, swore that they would provide satisfaction between the earl and the chancellor concerning their quarrels and questions to the honour of both parties and the peace of the kingdom. And if hereafter any disagreement should happen between them, they would faithfully end it. The earl also, and the chancellor, swore that they would consent to whatever the aforesaid jury should settle; and this was the provision. Gerard de Camville, being received into the chancellor's favour, the custody of the castle of Lincoln was reserved to him in peace and safety; the earl gave up the castles which he had taken, and the chancellor having received them, gave them over to the king's faithful and liege men, namely, to William de Wenn the castle of Nottingham, and to Reginald de Wasseville the castle of Tickhill; and each of them gave an hostage to the chancellor, that they would keep those castles in the safe peace and fidelity of their lord the king, if he should return alive. If, however, the king should die before his return, the aforesaid castles should be delivered up to the earl, and the chancellor should restore the hostages. The constables of the castles of the earl's honours should be changed by the chancellor, if the earl should shew reason for their being changed. The chancellor, if the king should die, should not seek the disherison of the earl; but should promote him to the kingdom with all his power. Concluded solemnly at Winchester, on the seventh of the calends of May.

Sect. 43. The chancellor, by wonderful importunity and earnestness, persuaded first a part of the monks, and after-

wards the whole congregation of Westminster, to permit his brother, a monk of Cadomo, to profess a cohabitation in Westminster, and to be elected by all for their abbot for his profession and cohabitation on a day appointed; and that this election should not be broken, security was taken by a bond, with the church's seal affixed as a testimony.

Sect. 44. Geoffrey, a brother of King Richard and Earl John, but not by their mother, who had been consecrated archbishop of York at Tours, by the archbishop of Tours, by the pope's command, continually solicited by message John the king's brother and his own, that at the least it might be permitted him to return to England; and having obtained his consent, he prepared to return. The intercourse of the brothers did not escape the chancellor's knowledge, who providing, lest their natural genuine perverseness should increase, commanded the keepers of the coasts, that wherever that archbishop, who had abjured England for the three years of the king's travels, should disembark within the bounds of the kingdom, he should not be permitted to proceed, but by the will of the jury, to whose award the earl and the chancellor had taken oath to stand concerning every thing that should happen.

Sect. 45. A certain Robert, prior of Hereford, a monk who did not think very meanly of himself, and gladly forced himself into other people's business that he might intermix his own, had gone into Sicily to the king on the chancellor's messages, where after the rest he did not forget his own interests; and having by some means or other worried everybody, succeeded in obtaining the abbacy of Muchelney to be granted to him and confirmed by the king. Into possession of which, by the chancellor's means, he entered, against the will of the convent, neither canonically, nor with a benediction; and presently on the first day, at the first dinner, by greedily partaking of fresh eels without wine, and more than was proper, he fell into a languor, which the food, undigested and lying heavily on an inflamed stomach, brought on. And lest the languor should be ascribed to his gluttony, he caused the monks of that place to be slandered of having given him poison.

Sect. 46. Geoffrey, archbishop of York, presuming upon the consent of his brother Earl John, his shipping being

ready, came to Dover, and presently having landed, first sought a church for prayer. There is there a priory of monks of the profession of Canterbury, whose oratory he entered with his clerks to hear mass, and his household was intent about unlading the ships. No sooner had the whole of his goods been landed, than suddenly the constable of the castle caused whatever he thought was the archbishop's to be brought into the town, understanding more in the command of his lord the chancellor than he had commanded. Certain also of the soldiers, armed under their tunics, and girt with swords, came into the monastery, that they might apprehend the pontiff; whom when he saw, their intention being foreknown, he took a cross in his hands, and first addressing them and extending his hands towards his followers, he says, "I am the archbishop; if ye seek me, let these go their way." And the soldiers reply, "Whether you be an archbishop or not, it is nothing to us; one thing we know, that you are Geoffrey, the son of King Henry, whom he begot on some strange bed, who before the king, whose brother you make yourself, have forsworn England for three years; if you are not come into the kingdom as a traitor to the kingdom; if you have brought letters of absolution, either say, or take the reproach." Then said the archbishop, "I am not a traitor, neither will I shew you any letters." They then laid their hands on him there before the very altar, and violently dragged him out of the church against his will, and resisting, but not with force; who immediately being set without the threshold, excommunicated by name those who had laid hands on him, both present and whilst they were still holding him; nor did he receive the horse that they offered him that he might ride with them to the castle, because it was the property of the excommunicated. And so, outraging humanity, they dragged him on foot by the hands, and carrying the cross, all through the mud of the streets to the castle. After this they desired of their own good will to deal humanely with their captive, bringing him some of the best provisions which they had prepared for themselves; but he, being firmly resolved, by what he had now suffered, rejected their victuals as if it were an offering to idols, and refused to live on anything but his own. The report spread over the kingdom more rapidly than the wind, those who had followed their lord at a distance came after,

relating and complaining to all that the archbishop, the king's brother, thus landed, had been so treated and detained in prison.

Sect. 47. The archbishop was already three days in custody, and the chancellor, as soon as the case was made known to him, restored to him all his goods, and set him at liberty to depart whithersoever he should desire. He wrote, moreover, to Earl John, and to all the bishops, asserting, with an oath, that the aforesaid man had suffered the above-written injuries without his knowledge. The excuse profited little, because the occasion, which had been long sought and which spontaneously offered itself against him, was most eagerly and tenaciously laid hold of. The authors of this daring act, who laid hands on the archbishop, as well as those who consented thereto, were all specially excommunicated in every church of the whole kingdom, that at least the chancellor, who was hateful to everybody, might be involved in the general malediction.

Sect. 48. Earl John, gnashing his teeth with anger against the chancellor, whom he hated, brought a weighty complaint before all the bishops and lords of the kingdom, of the infringement of the convention by the adverse party, by the arrest of his brother, to his own dishonour. The jurors are summoned and are sworn to stand by their plighted promise, and to bring it to pass as quickly as possible, that the perjurer and breaker of his faith should repair what he had done amiss by giving ample satisfaction. The affair, hitherto confined to trifles, now bears a serious aspect; the chancellor is summoned by the powerful authority of all his and the earl's mediators, to meet him and answer to the earl's accusations, and to submit to the law, the place at Lodbridge, the day the third of the nones of October.

Sect. 49. The earl, with the greatest part of the nobility of the kingdom all favouring him, had awaited the chancellor two days at the place of meeting, and on the third, in the morning, he sent on certain of his followers to London, still waiting at the place of meeting in case he who was expected should either dare or deign to come. The chancellor, dreading in himself the earl, and being suspicious of the judges, delayed to come to the place for two days; on the third (because as every one feels conscious in his mind, so does he conceive in his breast both hope and fear for his deeds), half-

way between hope and fear, he attempted to go to the meeting. And behold ! Henry Biset, a faithful man of his, who had seen the above-mentioned party of the earl's friends passing on, putting frequently the spur to his horse, comes to meet the chancellor, and tells him that the earl, before daylight, had gone in arms to take London ; and who was there, on that day, that did not take every thing as gospel, which that honourable man told them ? but yet he was not guilty of falsehood, because he thought that what he had said was true. The chancellor, deceived, as all men are liable to be, immediately caused all the force that was with him to arm ; and thinking that he was following close upon the earl, came before him to the city. The citizens being asked by him, for the earl was not yet come, that they would close the gates against him when he should come, refused, calling him a disturber of the land, and a traitor. For the archbishop of York, conscious of what would happen, whilst he was tarrying there some days, that he might see the end of the matter, by continual complaints and entreaties had excited them all against him ; and then, for the first time, perceiving himself betrayed, he betook himself to the Tower, and the Londoners set a watch, both by land and water, that he might not escape. The earl, having knowledge of his flight, following him up with his forces, was received by the joyful citizens with lanterns and torches, for he came to town by night ; and there was nothing wanting in the salutations of the flattering people, save that barbarous *Chaire Basileus* ! which is, " Hail, dear lord ! "

Sect. 50. On the next day, the earl and all the nobles of the land assembled in St. Paul's church, and first of all was heard the archbishop of York's complaint ; after that, whosoever had aught against him was admitted. The accusers of the absent had an attentive and diligent hearing, and especially Hugh, bishop of Coventry, so prolix in words, who the day before had been his most familiar friend, who, as the worst pest, is a familiar enemy, having harangued more bitterly and perversely than all the rest, against his friend, did not desist until it was said by all, " We will not have this man to reign over us." So the whole assembly, without any delay, elected Earl John, the king's brother, chief justiciary of the whole kingdom, and ordaining that all the castles

should be delivered to the custody of such as he should choose, they left only three of the weakest, and lying at a great distance from each other, to the now merely nominal chancellor. The chief justice after the earl, the justices itinerant, the barons of the Exchequer, the constables of castles, all new, are appointed afresh. Amongst others then gainers, both the bishop of Winchester received the custodies which the chancellor had taken from him, without diminution, and the lord bishop of Durham received the county of Northumberland.

Sect. 51. That unlucky day was declining towards evening, when four bishops, and as many earls, sent on the part of the assembly to the chancellor, explained to him, to the letter, the acts of the whole day. He was horror-struck at such unexpected presumption and arrogance, and, his vigour of mind failing, he fell to the earth so exhausted, that he foamed at the mouth. Cold water being sprinkled on his face, he revived, and having risen on his feet, he addressed the messengers with a stern countenance, saying, "There is one help for the vanquished, to hope for no help.* You have conquered and you have bound incautiously. If the Lord God shall grant me to see my lord the king with my two eyes, be sure this day has shone inauspiciously for you. As much as in you lay, you have now delivered to the earl, whatever was the king's in the kingdom. Say to him, Priam still lives. You, who forgetful of your still surviving king, have elected to yourselves another to be lord, tell to that your lord, that all will turn out otherwise than he supposes. I will not give up the castles, I will not resign the seal." The messengers, having returned from him, related to the earl what they had received, who ordered the Tower to be more closely besieged.

Sect. 52. The chancellor was sleepless the greater part of the night (because he who does not set his mind on honest studies and pursuits will toss about wakeful through hate or love); and at the same time his people disturbed him more than his conscience, falling prostrate at his feet, and entreating with tears that he would yield to necessity, and not stretch forth his arms against the torrent. He, though harder than iron, is softened by the piteous counsel of those who were weeping round him; again and again having fainted with

Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.—VIRGIL.

grief, at last, he with much ado assented that that should be done, which, being entirely destitute of aid, he was compelled to do. One of his brothers, and three, not ignoble, of his adherents, being permitted, not commissioned, announced to the earl at that time of night, that the chancellor, with what readiness it does not matter, was prepared to do and suffer whatever had been determined. He should avoid delay, because it has always been injurious for those who are prepared to defer. It should be done the next day, lest the wind should so veer, that it might be deferred for a year. These return to the Tower, and before day, the earl made known to his adherents that these things had passed.

Sect. 53. Meanwhile, the rising dawn left the ocean, and the sun having now appeared, the earl, with his whole troop, withdrew to the open field, which is without London towards the east; the chancellor went thither also, but less early than his adversaries. The nobles took the centre, around whom was next a circle of citizens, and beyond an attentive populace, estimated at ten thousand men. The bishop of Coventry first attacked the chancellor, rehearsing the several accusations of the preceding day, and ever adding something of his own. "It is not," said he, "either fit or bearable that such gross incapacity of one should so often cause so many noble and honourable men, and from such remote parts, to assemble for nothing. And since it is better to be troubled once for all, than always, I will conclude all in few words. It does not please, because it is not convenient, that you should any longer bear rule in the kingdom. You will be content with your bishopric, and the three castles with which we have indulged you, and the shelter of a great name. You will in the next place give hostages for giving up all the other castles, and for not seeking increased power or making tumults, and afterwards you will be able to depart freely whithersoever you may desire." Many spoke much in favour of this, none against; the lord of Winchester, although he was more eloquent than most of them, alone observed continued silence. At length the chancellor, scarcely permitted to speak, exclaimed, "Am I always to be a hearer only? and shall I never answer?" Before all things, know ye each and every one, that

* *Somper ego auditor tantum? Nunquamne reponam?*—JUVENAL.

I feel myself guilty of nothing that I should fear the mouth of any of you. I solemnly declare that the archbishop of York was taken, without either my knowledge or my will; that I will prove in the civil courts if you wish, or in the ecclesiastical. Respecting the deficiencies of the king, if I have done any thing amiss in that matter, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William Briwere, and Hugh Bardolf, whom I received from the king as councillors, would, if it were permitted them to speak, give satisfaction for me. Why and in what I have spent the king's treasure, I am ready to give account to the utmost farthing. I do not refuse to give hostages for delivering up the castles, though in this I ought rather to fear the king; yet as I must, I must. The name which you are not able to take away, and I am still to bear, I do not set light by. In short, I give you all to know, that I depose myself from no administration given me by the king. You, being many, have besieged me alone; you are stronger than I, and I, the king's chancellor and justiciary of the kingdom, am condemned against all form of law; it is through necessity I yield to the stronger." The sun declining to the west, put an end to the allegations of the parties; the two brothers of the chancellor that was, and a certain third person, his chamberlain, who had also been his secretary, were received in hostage. The assembly is dissolved, the keys of the Tower of London being given up on the sixth of the ides of October. The chancellor started for Dover, one, to wit, of the three castles of which mention was made; and the earl delivered, to those he chose and whom he trusted most, all the fortresses of the land which had been given up to him.

Sect. 54. Messengers are immediately despatched to the Land of Promise, to the king himself, both by the condemned and the condemners, each by his own party, sufficiently instructed to accuse or excuse. The chancellor, being uncomfortable here under the appellation of his lost authority, and the recollection of his present state, whilst he endeavoured by all means to elude the prohibition of his going abroad, got scoffed, not uniformly, nor once only. I will not recount how he was taken and detained, both in the habit of a monk and in that of a woman, because it is enough, and more than enough, to recollect what inestimable property and immense treasures the Flemish stripped him of, when at length he

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arrived in Flanders. His passage over being known, whatever revenue he had possessed in England was confiscated. A most dreadful contention is carried on between the mighty. The chancellor suspends his diocese which had been taken from him, and he denounces his anathema upon all those who trespassed against him. Nor was the archbishop of Rouen more remiss in the same way, for in revenge for his presumptuous excommunication of the Exchequer barons, he commanded it to be announced throughout Normandy that William de Longchamp should be held as excommunicated. He was, however, unwilling to seem to fear the malediction uttered against the invaders of the aforesaid bishopric, nor did he believe that the sentence of a fugitive prelate could find its way before his majesty's throne. So the face of the church of Ely was disfigured, they ceased throughout the diocese from every work of the Lord, the bodies of the dead lay unburied by all the ways. In Normandy, the like being returned, none under the archbishop's authority communicated with the chancellor; on his entry every church was suspended, and on his departure all the bells were rung, and the altars where he officiated cast down.

Sect. 55. Two legates despatched into France by the pope, at the instigation, though secret, as is reported, of the king of the French, came to Gisorz to visit Normandy, which they understood was a chief part of the kingdom of the French; but both the constable of the castle and the seneschal of Normandy would not admit them, excusing themselves with this shadow of a reason, that the visitation of any province should not be made unless with the approbation or in the presence of the lord of the land; all the kings of the English, and particularly Richard, being especially indulged with this privilege by the Holy See. No allegation, whether real or probable, availed with the legates; their almost divine power rose and swelled with rage, though against those who heeded them not: the contemned authority of Roman majesty is exercised; they lay aside high-flown sentences and long words. They threaten their adversaries with much bitterness; but, however, as they had not to plead with boys, the castle gates being shut against them, they stood without the doors. But their solace was not wanting, though they were repulsed. They reached with their power, where they

could not approach in person. They excommunicated by name the constable of Gisorz and the seneschal of Normandy, there present, and suspended the whole of Normandy from every administration of the rites of the church. It was necessary to yield to their power; the church was silent immediately, and so remained the space of three weeks, until, the pope being supplicated, both the sentence against those named was remitted, and the suspension given out against Normandy. The book of liberty was restored to Normandy, and the voice of gladness, and the legates were prohibited to set foot therein.

Sect. 56. The Westminster monks, who before those days had so greatly excelled in magnanimity, that they would not stain their deeds for death itself, as soon as they saw a new era, changed also with the time, putting behind their backs whatever they had covenanted with the chancellor for his brother; with the connivance of the earl, they elected the prior of their house to be abbat, who also received immediately the benediction and staff from the bishop of London. The chancellor's brother, who by agreement should have been elected abbat, seeing the convent break their engagement, troubled thereat, departed with his half-modesty, carrying off with him, however, the bond of security, having made an appeal prior to the second election before legitimate witnesses, that nothing should be done against his stipulated promotion.

The monks of Muchelney, after the example of those of Westminster, though not altogether in a similar way, expelled their principal, I do not know whether abbat or abbat elect, whom they had been forced to accept, casting forth the straw of his bed after him, and thrust him with much insult out of their island to the four winds of heaven.

Sect. 57. The archbishop of Rouen being constituted by the earl justiciary of the kingdom, and supreme over affairs, having convoked, at Canterbury, the clergy and people, as the king himself had enjoined him, directed them to proceed to the election of an archbishop. The bishops of London and Winchester, however, were not present, being detained at London by the king's business, and the question being broached among the bishops who had assembled, which of them should be esteemed the greater, whose the election ought to be,

as the two aforesaid of chief dignity were absent, the prior of Canterbury solving the point of difficulty, made all equal in choosing a pontiff, and proceeding forth in public with his monks, in the face of the whole church, elected, as archbishop, Reginald, bishop of Bath, from the midst of the clergy.

Sect. 58. Reginald, elect of Canterbury, who would have proceeded to Rome for his pall, had the fates permitted, having completed the solemnities which are usually celebrated for the elect at Canterbury, came to set things in order in the diocese of Bath, which he greatly loved, and by which he was more beloved. It is reported also, that he had obtained, as he desired, the assent of the prior and convent for electing and substituting in his place, Savaricus, archdeacon of Northampton, and had received the security. Returning from thence, he fell sick by the way, and was laid up very ill at his manor of Dokemeresfeld; and seeing nothing more likely to happen to him than death, he took the habit of a monk at the hands of his prior Walter, then tarrying with him, and receiving it, spoke these words, "God willed not that I should be archbishop, and I will not; God willed that I should be a monk, and I will!" Moreover, being in the last extremities, he took the king's letters to the iustices, for conceding to Savaricus whatever diocese he should be elected to, and gave them to the prior of Bath, that by the authority of this instrument he might the sooner be promoted. Then having accomplished all things which relate to faith and penitence devoutly and with a sane mind, he fell asleep in the Lord on the seventh of the calends of January.* His

EPITAPH.

Dum Reginaldus erat bene seque suosque regebat; ,
 Nemo plus quærat; quicquid docuit faciebat.
 Sancti Swithuni nisi pratum præripuisset
 Hunc de communi mors tam cito non rapuisset.
 Sed, qui poenituit, minuit mors passa reatum;
 Fecit quod potuit, se dedit ad monachatum.

Whilst Reginald lived, he well governed both himself and his men.
 Let no one ask more; whatsoever he taught, he practised. If he had

* Dec. 26.

not grasped at Saint Swithin's pasture, death would not have snatched him so soon from the public. But, because he was penitent, a premature death diminished his supposed guilt; he did what he could, he dedicated himself to the monastic life.

Walter, prior of Bath, and his convent, without the clergy, elected to themselves for their future bishop Savaricus, archdeacon of Northampton, who was absent, and as yet ignorant of the decease of his fellow-pontiff; and although the clergy resisted, they carried it out.

Sect. 59. The fleet of Richard, king of the English, put out to sea, and proceeded in this order. In the forefront went three ships only, in one of which was the queen of Sicily and the young damsel of Navarre, probably still a virgin; in the other two, a certain part of the king's treasure and arms; in each of the three, marines and provisions. In the second line there were, what with ships and busses and men-of-war, thirteen; in the third, fourteen; in the fourth, twenty; in the fifth, thirty; in the sixth, forty; in the seventh, sixty; in the last, the king himself, followed with his galleys. There was between the ships, and between their lines, a certain space left by the sailors at such interval, that from one line to another the sound of the trumpet, from one ship to another, the human voice, could be heard. This also was admirable, that the king was no less cheerful and healthy, strong and mighty, light and gay, at sea, than he was wont to be by land. I conclude, therefore, that there was not one man more powerful than he in the world, either by land or sea.

Sect. 60. Now, as the ships were proceeding in the aforesaid manner and order, some being before others, two of the three first, driven by the violence of the winds, were broken on the rocks near the port of Cyprus; the third, which was English, more speedy than they, having turned back into the deep, escaped the peril. Almost all the men of both ships got away alive to land, many of whom the hostile Cypriotes slew, some they took captive, some, taking refuge in a certain church, were besieged. Whatever also in the ships was cast up by the sea, fell a prey to the Cypriotes. The prince also of that island coming up, received for his share the gold and the arms; and he caused the shore to be guarded by all the armed force he could summon together, that he might not

permit the fleet which followed to approach, lest the king should take again what had been thus stolen from him. Above the port, was a strong city, and upon a natural rock, a high and fortified castle. The whole of that nation was warlike, and accustomed to live by theft. They placed beams and planks at the entrance of the port, across the passage, the gates and entrances; and the whole land, with one mind, prepared themselves for a conflict against the English. God so willed, that the cursed people should receive the reward of their evil deeds by the hands of one who would not spare. The third English ship, in which were the women, having cast out its anchors, rode out at sea, and watched all things from opposite, to report the misfortune to the king, lest haply, being ignorant of the loss and disgrace, he should pass the place unrevenged. The next line of the king's ships came up after the other, and they all stopped at the first. A full report reached the king, who, sending heralds to the lord of the island, and obtaining no satisfaction, commanded his entire army to arm, from the first even to the last, and to get out of the great ships into the galleys and boats, and follow him to the shore. What he commanded, was immediately performed; they came in arms to the port. The king being armed, leaped first from his galley, and gave the first blow in the war; but before he was able to strike a second, he had three thousand of his followers with him striking away by his side. All the timber that had been placed as a barricade in the port was cast down instantly, and the brave fellows went up into the city, as ferocious as lionesses are wont to be when robbed of their young. The fight was carried on manfully against them, numbers fell down wounded on both sides, and the swords of both parties were made drunk with blood. The Cypriotes are vanquished, the city is taken, with the castle besides; whatever the victors choose is ransacked, and the lord of the island is himself taken and brought to the king. He, being taken, supplicates and obtains pardon; he offers homage to the king, and it is received; and he swears, though unasked, that henceforth he will hold the island of him as his liege lord, and will open all the castles of the land to him, make satisfaction for the damage already done; and further, bring presents of his own. On being dismissed after the oath, he is commanded to fulfil the conditions in the morning.

Sect. 61. That night the king remained peaceably in the castle; and his newly-sworn vassal flying, retired to another castle, and caused the whole of the men of that land, who were able to bear arms, to be summoned to repair to him, and so they did. The king of Jerusalem, however, that same night, landed in Cyprus, that he might assist the king and salute him, whose arrival he had desired above that of any other in the whole world. On the morrow, the lord of Cyprus was sought for and found to have fled. The king, seeing that he was abused, and having been informed where he was, directed the king of Jerusalem to follow the traitor by land with the half of the army, while he conducted the other part by water, intending to be in the way, that he might not escape by sea. The divisions reassembled around the city in which he had taken refuge, and he, having sallied out against the king, fought with the English, and the battle was carried on sharply by both sides. The English would that day have been beaten, had they not fought under the command of King Richard. They at length obtained a dear-bought victory, the Cypriote flies, and the castle is taken. The kings pursue him as before, the one by land, the other by water, and he is besieged in the third castle. Its walls are cast down by engines hurling huge stones; he, being overcome, promises to surrender, if only he might not be put in iron fetters. The king consents to the prayers of the suppliant, and caused silver shackles to be made for him. The prince of the pirates being thus taken, the king traversed the whole island, and took all its castles, and placed his constables in each, and constituted justiciaries and sheriffs; and the whole land was subjected to him in every thing just like England. The gold, and the silk, and the jewels from the treasures that were broken open, he retained for himself; the silver and victuals he gave to the army. To the king of Jerusalem also he made a handsome present out of his booty.

And because Lent had already passed, and the lawful time of contract was come, he caused Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, whom his mother had brought to him in Lent, to be affianced to him in the island.

Sect. 62. After these things, having taken again to the ships, whilst sailing prosperously towards Acre, he falls in with a merchant ship of immense dimensions, destined by

Saladin to the besieged, laden with provisions and full of armed soldiers. A wonderful ship, a ship than which, with the exception of Noah's ark, we do not read of any being greater. The intrepid king here rejoices, because everywhere he meets with a fit object for valour; he, first of his warriors, having summoned to him, the galleys of his followers, commences the naval action with the Turks. The ship was fortified with towers and bulwarks, and the desperate fought furiously, because "the only hope for the conquered is to have nothing to hope for." The assault was dreadful and the defence stout; but what is there so hard, that the sturdy man who stoutly perseveres shall not subdue? The followers of Mahomet* are vanquished: that ship, the queen of ships, is shattered and sunk, as lead in the mighty waters, and the whole property perished with its possessors.

The king, proceeding thence, came to the siege of Acre, and was welcomed by the besiegers with as great joy as if it had been Christ that had come again on earth to restore the kingdom of Israel. The king of the French had arrived at Acre first, and was very highly esteemed by the natives; but on Richard's arrival he became obscured and without consideration, just as the moon is wont to relinquish her lustre at the rising of the sun.

Sect. 63. Henry, count of Champagne, whose whole store that he had brought both of provision and money was now wasted, comes to his king. He asks relief, to whom his king and lord caused to be offered a hundred thousand of Paris money, if, in that case, he would be ready to pledge to him Champagne. To that the count replied, "I have done what I could and what I ought; now I shall do what I am compelled by necessity. I desired to fight for my king, but he would not accept of me, unless for my own; I will go to him who will accept me: who is more ready to give than to receive." The king of the English, Richard, gave to Henry, count of Champagne, when he came to him, four thousand bushels of wheat, four thousand bacons, and four thousand pounds of silver. So the whole army of strangers out of every nation under heaven bearing the Christian name, who had already assembled to the siege long before the coming of

* Mocomicolæ.

the kings, at the report of so great a largess, took King Richard to be their general and lord; the Franks only who had followed their lord remained with their poor king of the French.

Sect. 64. The king of the English, unused to delay, on the third day of his arrival at the siege, caused his wooden fortress, which he had called "Mate Grifun," when it was made in Sicily, to be built and set up, and before the dawn of the fourth day the machine stood erect by the walls of Acre, and from its height looked down upon the city lying beneath it; and there were thereon by sunrise archers casting missiles without intermission on the Turks and Thracians. Engines also for casting stones, placed in convenient positions, battered the walls with frequent volleys. More important than these, sappers making themselves a way beneath the ground, undermined the foundations of the walls; while soldiers bearing shields, having planted ladders, sought an entrance over the ramparts. The king himself was running up and down through the ranks, directing some, reproving some, and urging others, and thus was he everywhere present with every one of them, so that whatever they all did, ought properly to be ascribed to him. The king of the French also himself did not lightly assail them, making as bold an assault as he could on the tower of the city which is called Cursed.

Sect. 65. The renowned Carracois and Mestocus, after Saladin the most powerful princes of the heathen, had at that time the charge of the besieged city, who, after a contest of many days, promised by their interpreters the surrender of the city, and a ransom for their heads; but the king of the English desired to subdue their obstinacy by force; and wished that the vanquished should pay their heads for the ransom of their bodies, but, by the mediation of the king of the French, their life and indemnity of limbs only was accorded them, if, after surrender of the city and yielding of every thing they possessed, the Holy Cross should be given up.

Sect. 66. All the heathen warriors in Acre were chosen men, and were in number nine thousand. Many of whom, swallowing many gold coins, made a purse of their stomachs because they foresaw that whatever they had of any value would be turned against them, even against themselves, if

they should again oppose the cross, and would only fall a prey to the victors. So all of them come out before the kings entirely disarmed, and outside the city, without money, are given into custody; and the kings, with triumphal banners, having entered the city, divided the whole with all its stores into two parts between themselves and their soldiers; the pontiff's seat alone its bishop received by their united gift. The captives, moreover, being divided, Mestocus fell by lot to the portion of the king of the English, and Carraccio, as a drop of cold water, fell into the burning mouth of the thirsty Philip, king of the French.

Sect. 67. The duke of Austria, who was also one of the ancient besiegers of Acre, followed the king of the English as a participator in the possession of his portion, and because, as his standard was borne before him, he was thought to take to himself a part of the triumph; if not by command, at least with the consent, of the offended king, the duke's standard was cast down in the dirt, and to his reproach and ridicule trampled under foot by them. The duke, although grievously enraged against the king, dissembled his offence, which he could not vindicate; and having returned to the place where he had carried on the siege, betook himself that night to his tent, which was set up again, and afterwards, as soon as he could, returned to his own country full of rancour.

Sect. 68. Messengers on the part of the captives having been sent to Saladin for their ransom, when the heathen could by no entreaty be moved to restore the Holy Cross, the king of the English beheaded all his, with the exception of Mestocus only, who on account of his nobility was spared, and declared openly without any ceremony that he would act in the same way towards Saladin himself.

Sect. 69. A certain marquess of Montferrat, a smooth-faced man, had held Tyre, which he had seized on many years ago, to whom the king of the French sold all his captives alive, and promised the crown of the region which was not yet conquered; but the king of the English withstood him to the face. "It is not proper," said he, "for a man of your reputation to bestow or promise what is not yet obtained; but further, if the cause of your journey be Christ, when at length you have taken Jerusalem, the chief of the cities of this region, from the hand of the enemy, you will without delay

or condition restore the kingdom to Guy, the legitimate king of Jerusalem. For the rest, if you recollect, you did not obtain Acre without a participator, so that neither should that which is the property of two be dealt out by one hand." Oh! oh! how fine for a godly throat! The marquess, bereft of his blissful hope, returns to Tyre, and the king of the French, who had greatly desired to strengthen himself against his envied ally by means of the marquess, now fell off daily; and this added to the continual irritation of his mind,—that even the scullion of the king of the English fared more sumptuously than the cupbearer of the French. After some time, letters were forged in the tent of the king of the French, by which, as if they had been sent by his nobles out of France, the king was recalled to France. A cause is invented which would necessarily be respected more than it deserved; his only son, after a long illness, was now despaired of by the physicians; France exposed to be desolated, if, after the son's death, the father (as it might fall out) should perish in a foreign land. So, frequent council being held between the kings hereupon, as they were both great and could not dwell together, Abraham remaining, Lot departed from him. Moreover, the king of the French, by his chief nobles, gave security by oath for himself and his vassals, to the king of the English, that he would observe every pledge until he should return to his kingdom in peace.

Sect. 70. On that day the commonalty of the Londoners was granted and instituted, to which all the nobles of the kingdom, and even the very bishops of that province, are compelled to swear. Now for the first time London, by the agreement conceded to it, found by experience that there was no king in the kingdom, as neither King Richard himself, nor his predecessor and father Henry, would have suffered it to be concluded for one thousand thousand marks of silver. How great evils forsooth may come forth of this agreement, may be estimated by the very definition, which is this. The commonalty is the pride of the common people, the dread of the kingdom, the ferment of the priesthood.

Sect. 71. The king of the French, with but few followers, returning home from Acre, left at that place the strength of his army to do nothing, to the command of which he appointed the bishop of Beauvais and the duke of Burgundy. The

English king, having sent for the commanders of the French, proposed that in the first place they should conjointly attempt Jerusalem itself; but the dissuasion of the French discouraged the hearts of both parties, and dispirited the troops, and restrained the king, thus destitute of men, from his intended march upon that metropolis. The king, troubled at this, though not despairing, from that day forth separated his army from the French, and directing his arms to the storming of castles along the sea-shore, he took every fortress that came in his way from Tyre to Ascalon, though after hard fighting and deep wounds. But to Tyre he deigned not to go, because it was not in the compass of his part of the campaign.

IN THE YEAR OF THE LORD MCXCII.

Sect. 72. Philip, king of the French, having left his companion, Richard, king of the English, in the territory of Jerusalem amongst the enemies of the cross of Christ, returned to France, without obtaining either the liberation of the Holy Cross or of the Holy Sepulchre. Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, restored to his church a great part of the treasure, which, as related above, he had appointed, on the third of the calends of February. The feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary was celebrated on the very Sunday of Septuagesima* at Winchester. But the Sunday had nothing belonging to Sunday but its memory at vespers and matins, and the morning mass. One full hide of land at the manse which is called Morslede, of the village of Ciltecumba, was let to a certain citizen of Winchester of the name of Pentecuste, to hold for twenty years for the annual and free service of twenty shillings, without the privity of the convent.

Sect. 73. Queen Eleanor sailed from Normandy and landed at Portsmouth on the third of the ides of February.† The chancellor repaired to the king of the French, and deposed before him his complaint relative to the loss of his treasures in Flanders, but he got nothing more there than what makes men ridiculous.

The king of the French caused all manner of arms to be fabricated both day and night throughout his whole realm,

* Feb. 1.

† Feb. 11.

and fortified his cities and castles, as was thought, by way of preparation for a struggle against the king of the English, if he should return from his journey. Which being known in the territories of the king of the English, his constables throughout Normandy, Le Mans, Anjou, Tours, Bourges, Poitou, and Gascony, of themselves fortified every place that could be fortified in the fullest manner. Moreover, the son of the king of Navarre, to spite the French, ravaged the country about Toulouse. A certain provost of the king of the French, desiring to become greater than his forefathers, set up a castle on the confines of Normandy and France, where there had never yet been any fortification; which, ere it was built, the Normans, by the impulse of their natural anger, totally overthrew, and tore the provost himself to pieces.

Sect. 74. Queen Eleanor, a lady worthy of repeated mention, visited certain houses appertaining to her dower within the diocese of Ely. To meet her there came out of all the hamlets and manors, wherever she passed, men with women and little children, not all of the lowest class, a piteous and pitiable company, with their feet bare, their clothes unwashed, and their hair unshorn. They speak in tears, for which, in very grief, they had failed to utter words, nor was there need of an interpreter, as more than they desired to say might be read in the open page. Human bodies lay unburied everywhere throughout the country, because their bishop had deprived them of sepulture. The queen, on understanding the cause of so great severity, as she was very compassionate, taking pity on the people's misery for the dead, immediately neglecting her own, and following other men's matters, repaired to London; she entreated, nay, she demanded, of the archbishop of Rouen, that the confiscated estates of the bishop should be restored to the bishop, and that the same bishop should in the name of the chancery be proclaimed absolved from the excommunication denounced against him, throughout the province of Rouen. And who could be so harsh or obdurate that that lady could not bend him to her wishes? She, too, forgetful of nothing, sent word into Normandy to the lord of Ely, of the public and private restitution which she had obtained for him, and compelled him to revoke the sentence of excommunication he had pronounced against the Exchequer barons. So by the queen's mediation there was peace between

the implacable, though their vexation was apparent, as the disaffection of their minds, contracted in their former hatred, could not be changed, without each giving some utterance to his feelings.

Sect. 75. Earl John, sending messengers to Southampton, commanded shipping to be made ready for him to depart, as was thought, to the king of the French; but the queen his mother, fearing lest the light-minded youth, by the counsels of the French, might go to attempt something against his lord and brother, with anxious mind takes in hand with her utmost ability to divert the intention of her son. The fate of her former sons, and the untimely decease of both under their oppressing sins, recurring to her mind, moved, or rather pierced, the maternal bowels of compassion. She desired that their violence might be enough, and that, at least, good faith being kept amongst her younger children, she, as their mother, might end her days more happily than had fallen to the lot of their deceased father. So having assembled all the peers of the realm, first at Windsor, secondly at Oxford, thirdly at London, and fourthly at Winchester, she with her own tears and the entreaties of the nobles with difficulty obtained that he would not cross the sea for this time. The earl, therefore, being in effect frustrated of his proposed passage, did what he could that way, and received the castles from the king's constables of Windsor and Wallingford, whom he had secretly called to him; and having received them, he delivered them over to his lieges to keep for him.

Sect. 76. By command of the archbishop of Rouen, there assembled at London, the pillars of the church, the oracles of the laws, to discuss either something or nothing, as it often falls out, in matters of state. There was but one mind among all, to convene Earl John for the pre-occupation of the castles; but, because no one of them durst commit himself to another, every one desired in himself that the question should be proposed rather by a deputy than by his own mouth. So whilst they all clamour to this end, and with this purpose, Æacus alone is wanting, to whom they all simultaneously agreed to resort; but even whilst among other matters they only casually discoursed of the late chancellor, behold! again is Crispinus at hand. The messengers of the chancellor, now again legate, enter the assembly, saluting the queen, who was

present, and all the rest, whom by chance they found together, on the part of their lord, who had safely arrived the day before at Dover. The last clause of the mandates prohibited him from following up the ministration of his legation. Long were they all silent, and greatly astonished, intently kept their peace. At length it came to be the vote of all, that they should humbly entreat him to be their dictator and lord, whom they had assembled to judge as a perjurer and transgressor against their lord. So many of the nobles, of whom one was Echion, are sent, and that repeatedly, to Earl John, then staying at Wallingford, and laughing at their conventions. Humbly, and without austerity, they beg that he would hasten to meet the goat. "Lord!" say they, "he wears horns, beware!"

Sect. 77. The earl, not greatly moved, long suffered himself to be reverently entreated; but at length, satiated with the honour offered him, he came to London with the last intercessors, whom he most loved, sufficiently taught to answer to every question that might chance to be asked. The court rises up and compliments him on his entry, no order either of age or rank being observed; everybody that first can, first runs to meet him, and desires himself to be first seen, eager to please the prince, because to have been acceptable to the great is not the last of praises. The leaders were at a stand. Of the castles, no mention is made; the whole discussion and consultation was about the chancellor. Should the earl advise, all are ready to proscribe him. They strive by all means to soften the earl to consent, but they had a wild beast on their right hand. The earl, on being asked to answer, briefly declares, "The chancellor fears the threats of none of you, nor of you altogether, nor will he beg your love, if only he may succeed to have me alone his friend. He is to give me seven hundred pounds of silver by the seventh day, if I shall not have meddled between you and him. You see I am in want of money. To the wise, a word is sufficient." He said, and withdrew, leaving the conclusion of his proposition in the midst. The court, placed in a great strait, strained its counsel: it appeared expedient to every one to propitiate the man with more than was promised; the gift or loan of the money is approved, but not of their own, and so in the end it all falls upon the treasury of the absent king. Five hundred pounds of silver

sterling out of the Exchequer are lent to the earl by the barons, and letters to their liking against the chancellor are received. Nor is there delay; the queen writes, the clergy write, the people write, all unanimously advertise the chancellor to bolt, to cross the sea without delay, unless his ears are ticklish to hear rumours, unless he wishes to take his meals under the charge of armed soldiers.

Sect. 78. The chancellor stood aghast at the severity of the mandates, and was as pale as one who treads a snake with his bare feet. But, on retiring, is reported to have made only this manly reply:—"Let all who persecute me, know they shall see how great is he whom they have offended. I am not destitute of all counsel, as they reckon. I have one who serves me as a fine ear by true despatches. 'As long as I am an exile,' said he, 'patiently endure the things which you suffer. Every land is a home to the brave, believe one who has found it so by experience; persevere and preserve your life for a better day. A grateful hour, which is not hoped for, will overtake both you and me. Unlooked for, I shall return and triumph over my enemies, and again shall my victory make thee a citizen in my kingdom, forbidden thee, and now not obeying me; haply it may hereafter be gratifying to us to reflect on this event.'"

Sect. 79. Because Winchester ought not to be deprived of its due reward for keeping peace with the Jews, as in the beginning of this book is related, the Winchester Jews (after the manner of the Jews), studious of the honour of their city, procured themselves notoriety by murdering a boy in Winchester, with many signs of the deed, although, perhaps, the deed was never done. The case was thus:—A certain Jew engaged a Christian boy, a pretender to the art of shoemaking, into the household service of his family. He did not reside there continually to work, nor was he permitted to complete any thing great all at once, lest his abiding with them should apprise him of the fate intended for him; and, as he was remunerated better for a little labour there, than for much elsewhere, allured by his gifts and wiles, he frequented the more freely the wretch's house. Now, he was French by birth, under age, and an orphan, of abject condition and extreme poverty. A certain French Jew, having unfortunately compassioned his great miseries in France, by

frequent advice persuaded him that he should go to England, a land flowing with milk and honey; he praised the English as liberal and bountiful, and that there no one would continue poor who could be recommended for honesty. The boy, ready to like whatever you may wish, as is natural with the French, having taken a certain companion of the same age as himself, and of the same country, got ready to set forward on his foreign expedition, having nothing in his hands but a staff, nothing in his wallet but a cobbler's awl.

Sect. 80. He bade farewell to his Jewish friend; to whom the Jew replied, "Go forth as a man. The God of my fathers lead thee as I desire." And having laid his hands upon his head, as if he had been the scapegoat, after certain muttering of the throat and silent imprecations, being now secure of his prey, he continued,—“Be of good courage; forget your own people and native land, for every land is the home of the brave, as the sea is for the fish, and as the whole of the wide world is for the bird. When you have entered England, if you should come to London, you will quickly pass through it, as that city greatly displeases me. Every race of men, out of every nation which is under heaven, resort thither in great numbers; every nation has introduced into that city its vices and bad manners. No one lives in it without offence; there is not a single street in it that does not abound in miserable, obscene wretches; there, in proportion as any man has exceeded in wickedness, so much is he the better. I am not ignorant of the disposition I am exhorting; you have, in addition to your youth, an ardent disposition, a slowness of memory, and a soberness of reason between extremes. I feel in myself no uneasiness about you, unless you should abide with men of corrupt lives; for from our associations our manners are formed. But let that be as it may. You will come to London. Behold! I warn you, whatever of evil or of perversity there is in any, whatever in all parts of the world, you will find in that city alone. Go not to the dances of panders, nor mix yourself up with the herds of the stews; avoid the talus and the dice, the theatre and the tavern. You will find more braggadocios there than in all France, while the number of flatterers is infinite. Stage-players, buffoons, those that have no hair on their bodies, Garamantes, pick-thanks, catamites, effeminate sodomites, lewd musical girls,

druggists, lustful persons, fortune-tellers, extortioners, nightly strollers, magicians, mimics, common beggars, tatterdemalions, —this whole crew has filled every house. So if you do not wish to live with the shameful, you will not dwell in London. I am not speaking against the learned, whether monks or Jews; although, still, from their very dwelling together with such evil persons, I should esteem them less perfect there than elsewhere.

Sect. 81. "Nor does my advice go so far, as that you should betake yourself to no city; with my counsel you will take up your residence nowhere but in a town, though it remains to say in what. Therefore, if you should land near Canterbury, you will have to lose your way, if even you should but pass through it. It is an assemblage of the vilest, entirely devoted to their — I know not whom, but who has been lately canonized, and had been the archbishop of Canterbury, as everywhere they die in open day in the streets for want of bread and employment. Rochester and Chichester are mere villages, and they possess nothing for which they should be called cities, but the sees of their bishops. Oxford scarcely, I will not say satisfies, but sustains, its clerks. Exeter supports men and beasts with the same grain. Bath is placed, or rather buried, in the lowest parts of the valleys, in a very dense atmosphere and sulphury vapour, as it were at the gates of hell. Nor yet will you select your habitation in the northern cities, Worcester, Chester, Hereford, on account of the desperate Welshmen. York abounds in Scots, vile and faithless men, or rather rascals. The town of Ely is always putrefied by the surrounding marshes. In Durham, Norwich, or Lincoln, there are very few of your disposition among the powerful; you will never hear any one speak French. At Bristol, there is nobody who is not, or has not been, a soapmaker, and every Frenchman esteems soapmakers as he does nightmen. After the cities, every market, village, or town, has but rude and rustic inhabitants. Moreover, at all times, account the Cornish people for such as you know our Flemish are accounted in France. For the rest, the kingdom itself is generally most favoured with the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth; and in every place there are some good, but much fewer in them all than in Winchester alone.

Sect. 82. "This is in those parts the Jerusalem of the Jews, in it alone they enjoy perpetual peace; it is the school of those who desire to live well and prosper. Here they become men, here there is bread and wine enough for nothing. There are therein monks of such compassion and gentleness, clergy of such understanding and frankness, citizens of such civility and good faith, ladies of such beauty and modesty, that little hinders but I should go there and become a Christian with such Christians. To that city I direct you, the city of cities, the mother of all, the best above all. There is but one fault, and that alone in which they customarily indulge too much. With the exception I should say of the learned and of the Jews, the Winchester people tell lies like watchmen, but it is in making up reports. For in no place under heaven so many false rumours are fabricated so easily as there; otherwise they are true in every thing. I should have many things too still to tell you about business; but for fear you should not understand or should forget, you will place this familiar note in the hands of the Jew my friend, and I think, too, you may some time be rewarded by him." The short note was in Hebrew. The Jew made an end of his speech, and the boy having understood all things for good, came to Winchester.

Sect. 83. His awl supplied him, and his companion as well, with food, and the cruel courtesy and deceitful beneficence of the Jew was by the letter unfortunately obtained to their relief. Wherever the poor fellows worked or eat apart by day, they reposed every night in one little bed in the same old cottage of a certain old woman. Days follow days, and months months, and in the same way as we have hitherto so carefully described, our boys hasten the time of their separation that they may meet again. The day of the Holy Cross had arrived, and the boy that same day, whilst working at his Jew's, being by some means put out of the way, was not forthcoming. Now the Passover, a feast of the Jews, was at hand. His companion, during the evening, greatly surprised at his absence, not returning home to bed, was terrified that night with many visions and dreams. When he had sought him several days in all corners of the city without success, he came to the Jew and simply asked if he had sent his benefactor anywhere; whom when he found violently enraged beyond his general disposition, from having been so courteous

the day before, and noticed the incoherence of his words and change of countenance, he presently fired up, and as he was of a shrill voice and admirable readiness of speech, he broke out into abuse, and with great clamour challenged him with taking his companion away. "Thou son of a sordid harlot," said he; "thou robber, thou traitor, thou devil, thou hast crucified my friend. Alas, me! wherefore have I not now the strength of a man! I would tear you to pieces with my hands." The noise of his quarrelling in the house is heard in the street, Jews and Christians come running together from all quarters. The boy persists, and now, deriving courage from the crowd, addressing those present, he alleged his concern for his companion as an excuse. "O you good people," said he, "who are assembled, behold if there is any sorrow like my sorrow. That Jew is a devil; he has stolen away my heart from my breast—he has butchered my only companion, and I presume too that he has eaten him. A certain son of the devil, a Jew of French birth, I neither know nor am acquainted with; that Jew gave my comrade letters of his death-warrant to that man. To this city he came, induced, or rather seduced. He often gave attendance upon this Jew, and in his house he was last seen." He was not without a witness to some points, inasmuch as a Christian woman, who, contrary to the canons, had nursed up the young Jews in the same house, constantly swore that she had seen the boy go down into the Jew's store, without coming up again. The Jew denies it—the case is referred to the judges. The accusers are defective; the boy because he was under age, the woman because the service of Jews had rendered her ignominious. The Jew offered to clear his conscience of the evil report. Gold contented the judges. Phineas gave and pleased, and the controversy ceased.

Sect. 84. The bishop of Chester, who, from his detestation of religion, had expelled the monks from Coventry, entirely broke down all the workshops there were in the monastery, that by the altered appearance of the place, all remembrance of its past state might be taken away from posterity. And further, lest the ruin of the walls should some day bespeak their author, the church of the place, which had not been finished, was found a ready plea, and having bestowed the materials upon it, without charge, he began to build. More

over, he appointed the masons and plasterers their hire out of the chattels of the monastery. He selected two principal manors of the monks for his own proper use ; this arrangement being made for their abuse—that wherever he should eat, some special delicacy provided out of the issues of the aforesaid manors should be presented to him to eat, that he might glory in the victory, and might batten, as it were, on the viscera of the monks, whom he had by his wickedness overcome. But all the rest of their revenues he allotted to the prebends, some of which he conferred and settled for ever on the Romish church, appropriated to certain cardinals of the Apostolic See, appointing them and their canonical successors in the same titles to be canons of the church of Coventry, that if by any chance there should be any delay to the transactions before the pope, he should make the whole court the more ready in the defence of his part ; he conferred the other prebends on others, but not one on any whom he did not know for certain to be an advocate of no religion. They built eagerly, even the absent canons, around the church spacious and lofty villas, perhaps for their own use, if even once in their lives any chance should offer a cause for visiting the place. None of the prebendaries regularly resided there any more than they do elsewhere ; but doing great things for the gates of palaces, they have left to poor vicars, induced by a trifling remuneration, to insult God ; to them have they intrusted the holy chant and vanquished household gods and bare church walls.

Sect. 85. This forsooth is true religion ; this should the church imitate and emulate. It will be permitted the secular canon to be absent from his church as long as he may please, and to consume the patrimony of Christ where, and when, in whatsoever luxuries he may list. Let them only provide this, that a frequent vociferation be heard in the house of the Lord. If the stranger should knock at the doors of such, if the poor should cry, he who lives before the doors will answer (he himself being a sufficiently needy vicar), "Pass on, and seek elsewhere for alms, for the master of the house is not at home." This is that glorious religion of the clerks, for the sake of which the bishop of Chester, the first of men that durst commit so great iniquity, expelled his monks from Coventry. For the sake of clerks irregularly regular—that

is to say, of canons, he capriciously turned out the monks; monks who, not with another's, but with their own mouth praised the Lord, who dwelt and walked in the house of the Lord with unanimity all the days of their life, who beyond their food and raiment knew nothing earthly, whose bread was always for the poor, whose door was at all times open to every traveller: nor did they thus please the bishop, who never loved either monks or their order. A man of bitter jocularly, who even, though he might sometimes spare, never ceased to worry the monks. O what a fat morsel, and not to be absorbed, is a monk! many a thousand has that bit choked, while the wicked at their death have had it for their viaticum. If as often as a monk was calumniated and reproached he was consumed, all religion would be absorbed before many ages. At all times and in every place, whether the bishop spoke in earnest or in jest, a monk was some part of his discourse. Nor did the expulsion of his own monks satisfy him, but ever after, true to himself, he continued censuring the monks as before. But as he could not desist from speaking of them, lest he should incur the opprobrium of a detractor, if in their absence he should carp at their order, he resolved to keep some monk abiding with him in his court; that his conversation about them might be made less offensive, by the presence and audience of one of them. So he took as his quasi chaplain a certain monk, scarcely of age, but yet who had professed at Burton, whom to the scandal of religion he generally took about with him. O excess of sorrow! Even among the angels of God is found iniquity. The monk, wise and prudent, seduced to the delusion, hardened his forehead as a harlot, that he a monk should not blush when monks were reviled. Alas! how great a thirst for roving and riding! Hear me and attend a little; you shall see how the riding of this rider concluded. On a certain day, as the bishop was standing over his workmen at Coventry, his monk attending close by his side, on whom the bishop familiarly resting, said, "Is it not proper and expedient, my monk, even in your judgment, that the great beauty of so fair a church, that such a comely edifice, should rather be appropriated to gods than devils?" And while the monk was hesitating at the obscurity of the words, he added, "I," said he, "call my clerks gods, and monks devils!" And presently putting

forth the forefinger of his right hand towards his clerks, who were standing round him, he continued, "I say ye are gods, and ye are all the children of the Highest!" And having turned again to the left, concluded to the monk, "But ye monks shall die like devils; and as one and the greatest of your princes ye shall fall away into hell, because ye are devils upon earth. Truly if it should befall me to officiate for a dead monk, which I should be very unwilling to do, I would commend his body and soul not to God, but to the devil!" The monk, who was standing in the very place that the monks had been plundered of, did not refute the insult on the monks, and because on such an occasion he was silent, met, as he deserved, with the reward of eternal silence being imposed upon him. For suddenly a stone falling from the steeple of the church, dashed out the brains of the monk who was attending on the bishop, the bishop being preserved in safety for some greater judgment.

Sect. 86. The king of the English, Richard, had already completed two years in conquering the region around Jerusalem, and during all that time there had no aid been sent to him from any of his kingdoms. Nor yet were his only and uterine brother, John, earl of Mortain, nor his justiciaries, nor his other nobles, observed to take any care to send him any part of his revenues; but they did not even think of his return. However, prayer was made without ceasing by the church to God for him. The king's army was decreased daily in the Land of Promise, and besides those who were slain with the sword, many thousands of the people perished every month by the too sudden extremities of the nightly cold and the daily heat. When it appeared that they would all have to die there, every one had to choose whether he would die as a coward or in battle. On the other side, the strength of the Gentiles greatly increased, and their confidence was strengthened by the misfortunes of the Christians; their army was relieved at certain times by fresh troops; the weather was natural to them; the place was their native country; their labour, health; their frugality, medicine. Amongst the Normans, on the contrary, that became a disadvantage which to the adversaries brought gain. For if our people lived sparingly even once in a week, they were rendered less effective for seven weeks after. The mingled nation of French and

English fared sumptuously every day, and (saving the reverence of the French) even to loathing, at whatever cost, while their treasure lasted; and the well-known custom of the English being continually kept up even under the very clarions and the clangour of the trumpet or horn, they gaped with due devotion while the chalices were emptied to the dregs. The merchants of the country, who brought the victuals to the camp, were astonished at their wonderful and extraordinary habits, and could scarcely believe even what they saw to be true, that one people, and that small in number, consumed threefold the bread and a hundred-fold the wine more than that whereon many nations of the Gentiles had been sustained, and some of those nations innumerable. And the hand of the Lord was deservedly laid upon them according to their merits. So great want of food followed their great gluttony, that their teeth scarcely spared their fingers, as their hands presented to their mouths less than their usual allowance. To these and other calamities, which were severe and many, a much greater was added by the sickness of the king.

Sect. 87. The king was extremely sick, and confined to his bed; his fever continued without intermission; the physicians whispered that it was an acute semitercian. And as they despaired of his recovery even from the first terrible dismay was spread from the king's abode through the camp. There were few among the many thousands who did not meditate on flight, and the utmost confusion of dispersion or surrender would have followed, had not Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, immediately assembled the council. He obtained by forcible allegations that the army should not break up until a truce was demanded of Saladin. All well armed stand in array more steadily than usual, and with a threatening look concealing the reluctance of their mind, they feign a desire for battle. No one speaks of the indisposition of the king, lest the secret of their intense sorrow should be disclosed to the enemy; for it was thoroughly understood that Saladin feared the charge of the whole army less than that of the king alone; and if he should know that he was dead, he would instantly pelt the French with cowardung, and intoxicate the best of the English drunkard with a dose which should make them tremble.

Sect. 88. In the meantime, a certain Gentile, called Saffatin, came down to see the king, as he generally did; he was a brother of Saladin, an ancient man of war of remarkable politeness and intelligence, and one whom the king's magnanimity and munificence had charmed even to the love of his person and favour of his party. The king's servants greeting him less joyfully than they were accustomed, and not admitting him to an interview with the king, "I perceive," said he by his interpreter, "that you are greatly afflicted; nor am I ignorant of the cause. My friend, your king, is sick, and therefore you close his doors to me." And falling into tears, with his whole heart, he exclaimed, "O God of the Christians, if thou be a God, do not suffer such a man, so necessary to thy people, to fall so suddenly!" He was intrusted with their avowal, and thus spoke on: "In truth I forewarn you, that if the king should die while things stand as they are at present, all you Christians will perish, and all this region will in time to come be ours without contest. Shall we at all dread that stout king of France, who before he came into battle was defeated,—whose whole strength, which three years had contributed, the short space of three months consumed? Hither will he on no account return any more; for we always esteem this as a sure token (I am not speaking craftily, but simply), that those whom at first we think cowardly, we ever after find worse. But that king, of all the princes of the Christian name whom the round circle of the whole world encompasses, is alone worthy of the honour of a captain and the name of a king, because he commenced well, and went on better, and will be crowned by the most prosperous result, if only he shall remain with you a short time.

Sect. 89. "It is not a new thing for us to dread the English, for fame reported to us his father to be such, that had he come even unarmed to our parts, we should all have fled, though armed, nor would it have appeared inglorious to us to be put to flight by him. He our terror, a wonderful man in his day, is dead; but, like the phoenix, renewed himself, a thousand times better, in his son. It was not unknown to us how great that Richard was, even while his father lived; for all the days of his father, we had our agents in those parts, who informed us both of the king's deeds, and of the birth and death of his sons. He was justly beloved for his probity by

his father above all his brothers, and preferred before them to the government of his states. It was not unknown to us that when he was made duke of Aquitaine he speedily and valiantly crushed the tyrants of the province, who had been invincible before his grandfather and great grandfather;—how terrible he was even to the king of France himself, as well as to all the governors of the regions on his borders. None took of his to himself, though he always pushed his bounds into his neighbours'. It was not unknown to us, that his two brothers, the one already crowned king, the other duke of Bretagne, had set themselves up against their dear father, and that he ceased not to persecute them with the rigour of war, till he had given them both eternal repose, vanquished as they were by the length of the prosecution. Besides, as you will the more wonder at, we know all the cities of your parts by name; nor are we ignorant that the king of your country was beaten at Le Mans through the treachery of his own people, that he died at Chinon, and was buried at Fontevraud.

Sect. 90. "It is not through ignorance that I do not relate who made himself the author of such unusual and mighty slaughter against us. O! if that Richard, whom although I love yet I fear, if he were despatched out of the way, how little should we then fear, how very little should we make account of that youngest of the sons, who sleeps at home in clover! It was not unknown to us, that Richard, who nobly succeeded his great father in the kingdom, immediately set forward against us even in the very year of his coronation. The number of his ships and troops was not unknown to us before his setting forth. We knew, even at the very time, with what speed he took Messina, the well-fortified city of Sicily, which he besieged; and although none of our people believed it, yet our fears increased, and fame added false terrors to the true.

Sect. 91. "His valour, unable to rest in one place, proceeded through a boundless region, and everywhere left trophies of his courage. We questioned among ourselves whether he made ready to subdue, for his God, the Land of Promise only, or, at the same time, to take the whole world for himself. Who shall worthily relate the capture of Cyprus? Verily had the island of Cyprus been close to Egypt, and had my brother Saladin subdued it in ten years,

his name would have been reckoned by the people among the names of the gods. When, however, we at last perceived that he overthrew whatever resisted his purpose, our hearts were melted as the hoar frost melts at the appearance of the approaching sun, forasmuch as it was said of him that he ate his enemies alive. And if he were not presently, on the very day of his arrival before Acre, received freely into the city with open gates, fear alone was the cause. It was not from their desire to preserve the city, but through dread of the torments promised them and their despair of life that they fought so bravely, or rather desperately, fearing this more than death, endeavouring this by all means, namely, that they should not die unrevenged. And this was not from sheer obstinacy, but to follow up the doctrine of our faith. For we believe that the spirits of the unavenged wander for ever, and that they are deprived of all rest. But what did the rashness and timidity of the devoted profit them? Being vanquished by force, and constrained by fear to surrender, they were punished with a more lenient death than they had expected. And yet, oh! shame on the Gentiles! their spirits wandered unavenged! I swear to you by the Great God, that if, after he had gained Acre, he had immediately led his army to Jerusalem, he would not have found even one of our people in the whole circuit of the Christians' land; on the contrary, we should have offered to him inestimable treasure, that he might not proceed, that he might not prosecute us further.

Sect. 92. "But, thanks be to God! he was burdened with the king of the French, and hindered by him, like a cat with a hammer tied to its tail. To conclude, we, though his rivals, see nothing in Richard that we can find fault with but his valour; nothing to hate but his experience in war. But what glory is there in fighting with a sick man? And although this very morning I could have wished that both you and he had all received your final doom, now I compassionate you on account of your king's illness. I will either obtain for you a settled peace with my brother, or at the least a good and durable truce. But until I return to you, do not by any means speak of it to the king, lest, if he should be excited, he may get worse, for he is of so lofty and impatient a disposition, that, even though he should needs presently die, he would not consent to an arrangement, without seeing the advantage on his

side!" He would have spoken further, but his tongue, languishing and failing for sorrow, would not continue his harangue, so with his head resting in his clasped hands he wept sore.

Sect. 93. The bishop of Salisbury, and such of the most trusty of the king's household as were present, who had secretly deliberated with him upon this subject, reluctantly consented to the truce which before they had determined to purchase at any price, as if it had been detested, and not desired by them. So their right hands being given and received, Saffatin, when he had washed his face, and disguised his sorrow, returned to Jerusalem, to Saladin. The council was assembled before his brother, and after seventeen days of weighty argument, he with difficulty succeeded in prevailing on the stubbornness of the Gentiles to grant a truce to the Christians. The time was appointed and the form approved. If it please King Richard, for the space of three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, such a truce shall be observed between the Christians and the Gentiles, that whatever either one party or the other in anywise possesses, he shall possess without molestation to the end; it will be permitted during the interval, that the Christians at their pleasure may fortify Acre only, and the Gentiles Jerusalem. All contracts, commerce, every act and every thing shall be mutually carried on by all in peace. Saffatin himself is despatched to the English as the bearer of this decree.

Sect. 94. Whilst King Richard was sick at Jaffa, word was brought him that the duke of Burgundy was taken dangerously ill at Acre. The day was the day for the king's fever to take its turn, and through his delight at this report, it left him. The king immediately with uplifted hands imprecated a curse upon him, saying, "May God destroy him, for he would not destroy the enemies of our faith with me, although he had long served in my pay." On the third day the duke died; as soon as his decease was known, the bishop of Beauvais, having left the king with all his men, came in haste to Acre; the French out of all the towns assembled before him, all but Henry, count of Champagne, King Richard's nephew by his sister. And the bishop, being made their leader and bully, set forth a proclamation and commanded them all to return home.

Sect. 95. The fleet was made ready, and the glorious prince retreating with his cowardly troop, sails over the Etruscan Sea. Having landed on the German coast, he spreads abroad among the people, during the whole of his journey, that that traitor the king of England, from the first moment of his arrival in Judea, had endeavoured to betray his lord the king of the French to Saladin; that, as soon as he had obtained Tyre, he caused the marquess to be murdered; that he had despatched the duke of Burgundy by poison; that at the last he had sold generally the whole army of the Christians who did not obey him; that he was a man of singular ferocity, of harsh and repulsive manners, subtle in treachery, and most cunning in dissimulation; that on that account the king of the French had returned home so soon; that on that account the French who remained had left Jerusalem unredeemed. This report gained strength by circulation, and provoked against one man the hatred of all.

Sect. 96. The bishop of Beauvais, having returned to France, secretly whispered in the king's ear, that the king of England had sent assassins to France who would murder him. The king, alarmed at that, appointed, though against the custom of his country, a chosen body-guard; he further sent ambassadors to the emperor of Germany with presents, and carefully persuaded his imperial majesty to a hatred of the king of England. So it was enjoined by an imperial edict, that all cities and princes of the empire should take the king of the English by force, if by chance in his return from Judea he should happen to pass through their countries, and present him to him alive or dead. If any one spared him, he should be punished as the public enemy of the empire. All obeyed the emperor's charge; and especially that duke of Austria whom the king of England had dismissed at Acre.

Sect. 97. Henry, count of Champagne, now the only one of the French nobles left in Judea, returned to the king of the English, to Jaffa; and when he announced to him both the death of the duke of Burgundy and the departure of the French, the hope of the king so revived, that he presently experienced a perfect convalescence with a healthy perspiration; and having resumed his strength of body more by the high temper of his mind than by repose or nourishment, he issued a command through the whole coast from Tyre to Ascalon, that

all who were able to serve in the wars should come to the service at the king's charges. There assembled before him a countless multitude, the greater part of whom were foot; which being rejected, as they were useless, he mustered the horse, and scarcely found five hundred knights and two thousand shield-bearers whose lords had perished. And not mistrustful on account of their small number, he being a most excellent orator, strengthened the minds of the fearful in a reasonable harangue. He commanded that it should be proclaimed through the companies that on the third day they must follow the king to battle, either to die as martyrs or to take Jerusalem by storm. This was the sum of his project, because as yet he knew nothing of the truce. For there was no one who durst even hint to him, who had so unexpectedly recovered, that which, without his knowledge, they had undertaken through fear of his death. However, Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, took counsel with Count Henry concerning the truce, and obtained his ready concurrence in his wishes. So having deliberated together by what stratagem they might be able without danger to hinder such a hazardous engagement, they conceived one of a thousand, namely, to dissuade the people if possible from the enterprise. And the matter turned out most favourably; the spirit of those who were going to fight had so greatly failed, even without dissuasion, that on the appointed day, when the king, according to his custom leading the van, marshalled his army, there were not found of all the knights and shield-bearers above nine hundred. On account of which defection, the king, greatly enraged, or rather raving, and champing with his teeth the pine rod which he held in his hand, at length unbridled his indignant lips as follows:—"O God!" said he, "O God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? For whom have we foolish Christians, for whom have we English come hither from the furthest parts of the earth to bear our arms? Is it not for the God of the Christians? O fie! How good art thou to us thy people, who now are for thy name given up to the sword; we shall become a portion for foxes. O how unwilling should I be to forsake thee in so forlorn and dreadful a position, were I thy lord and advocate as thou art mine! In sooth, my standards will in future be despised, not through my fault but through thine; in sooth, not through any cowardice of my warfare, art

thou thyself, my King and my God, conquered this day, and not Richard thy vassal."

Sect. 98. He said, and returned to the camp extremely dejected; and as a fit occasion now offered, Bishop Hubert and Henry, count of Champagne, approaching him with unwonted familiarity, and as if nothing had yet been arranged, importuned under divers pretexts the king's consent for making such overtures to the Gentiles as were necessary. And thus the king answered them: "Since it generally happens that a troubled mind rather thwarts than affords sound judgment—I, who am greatly perplexed in mind, authorize you, who have as I see a collected mind, to arrange what you shall think most proper for the good of peace." They having gained their desires, chose messengers to send to Saffatin upon these matters; Saffatin, who had returned from Jerusalem, is suddenly announced to be at hand; the count and the bishop go to meet him, and being assured by him of the truce, they instruct him how he must speak with the lord their king. Saffatin being admitted to an interview with the king as one who before had been his friend, could scarcely prevail with the king not to make himself a sacrifice, and to consent to the truce. For so great were the man's strength of body, mental courage, and entire trust in Christ, that he could hardly be prevailed upon not to undertake in his own person a single combat with a thousand of the choicest Gentiles, as he was destitute of soldiers. And as he was not permitted to break off in this way, he chose another evasion, that, after a truce of seven weeks, the stipulations of the compact being preserved, it should remain for him to choose whether it were better to fight or to forbear. The right hands are given by both parties for faithfully observing this last agreement; and Saffatin, more honoured than burdened with the king's present, goes back again to his brother, to return at the expiration of the term for the final conclusion or breaking off of the above truce.

Sect. 99. Richard, king of England, held a council at Acre, and there prudently regulating the government of that state, he appointed his nephew, Henry, count of Champagne, on whom he had formerly conferred Tyre, to be captain and lord of the whole Land of Promise. Only he thought proper to defer his consecration as king till haply he might be crowned at Jerusalem. King Richard now thinking to return home, when

with the assistance of Count Henry he had appointed chosen men for all the strongholds that had been taken in his territories, found Ascalon alone without ward or inhabitant for want of people. Wherefore, taking precaution that it might not become a receptacle of the Gentiles, he caused the ramparts and fortifications of the castle to be cast down. The seventh day of the seventh week appeared, and behold Saffatin, with many mighty ones who desired to see the face of the king, drew near; the truce was confirmed on both sides by oath, this being added to that which had been previously settled, that during the continuance of the truce no one, whether Christian or Gentile, should inhabit Ascalon, and that the whole of the tillage pertaining to the town should remain to the Christians. Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, and Henry, captain of Judea, together with a numerous band, went up to Jerusalem to worship in the place where the feet of Christ had stood. And there was woeful misery to be seen—captive confessors of the Christian name, wearing out a hard and constant martyrdom; chained together in gangs, their feet blistered, their shoulders raw, their backsides goaded, their backs wealed, they carried materials to the hands of the masons and stonemasons to make Jerusalem impregnable against the Christians. When the captain and bishop had returned from the sacred places, they endeavoured to persuade the king to go up; but the worthy indignation of his noble mind could not consent to receive that from the courtesy of the Gentiles which he could not obtain by the gift of God.

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GEOFFREY DE VINSAUF'S
ITINERARY OF RICHARD I. AND OTHERS,
TO THE HOLY LAND.

GEOFFREY DE VINSAUF'S
ITINERARY OF RICHARD I. AND OTHERS,
TO THE HOLY LAND.

PROLOGUE

To the Itinerary of those who went in pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the time of Saladin, and to the exploits of Richard king of England, and of the king of France, and of the emperor of Germany.

It sometimes happens, that exploits, however well known and splendidly achieved, come, by length of time, to be less known to fame, or even forgotten among posterity. In this manner the renown of many kings has faded, and their deeds have sunk with them into the grave where their bodies lie buried—deeds that had been performed with great splendour, and were much celebrated in their own times, when their novelty brought them into favour, and unanimous applause set them up as models before the people. The ancient Greeks, aware of this, were wise enough to use the pen as a remedy against oblivion, and zealously stimulated their writers, whom they termed historiographers, to compile histories of noble deeds. Thus the silence of the living voice was supplied by the voice of writing, so that the virtues of men might not die with them. The Romans, emulating the Greeks, with the view of perpetuating merit, not only employed the service of the pen, but also added sculpture: and thus by exhibiting the ancients they excited their descendants, and impressed the love

of virtue the more strongly on the minds of its imitators, conveying it in various ways, both through their eyes and through their ears. Who would now know anything about the voyage of Jason, the labours of Hercules, the glory of Alexander, or the victories of Cæsar, if it had not been for the service which writers have rendered? And, to adduce the examples of the Holy Fathers, I may say, that neither the patience of Job, the liberality of Abraham, nor the gentleness of David, would have remained as an example among the faithful of after-ages, if antiquity, with a due appreciation of truth, had not bequeathed history for our perusal. Indeed, kings formerly, when they became the objects of praise, were most anxious, that, whilst they stood high in the estimation of their contemporaries, they might also descend to the knowledge of posterity. However numerous have been the historians, most of them have recorded what they heard; few what they have seen. If Dares Phrygius* is more readily believed about the destruction of Troy, because he was an eyewitness of what others related only on hearsay, we also, who treat of the history of Jerusalem, are justly entitled to credit; for we testify what we have seen, and celebrate these deeds with the pen, whilst our memory of them retains its freshness. If the fastidious reader require a more elegant style, let him consider that we wrote while in the camp, and that the noise of war did not admit of calm and silent meditation. Truth has charms enough in herself, and even though not decked out in pompous array, still possesses sufficient attractions for all who are desirous of learning her secrets.

* Dares Phrygius, now universally acknowledged to be a forgery, was nevertheless one of the most popular writers of the middle ages. Historical and literary criticism being then at a very low ebb, few, if any, suspected the truth of a writer who boasted that he had been present at the war of Troy.

HERE BEGINS THE ITINERARY OF RICHARD KING
OF THE ENGLISH TO THE HOLY LAND,

EDITED BY

MASTER GEOFFREY DE VINSAUUF.

BOOK I.

CH. I.—In the year of the Incarnate Word 1187, when Urban III. held the government of the Apostolic See, and Frederic was emperor of Germany; when Isaac was reigning at Constantinople, Philip in France, Henry in England, and William in Sicily, the Lord's hand fell heavy upon his people, if indeed it is right to call those *his* people, whom uncleanness of life and habits, and the foulness of their vices, had alienated from his favour. Their licentiousness had indeed become so flagrant that they all of them, casting aside the veil of shame, rushed headlong, in the face of day, into crime. It would be a long task and incompatible with our present purpose to disclose the scenes of blood, robbery, and adultery, which disgraced them, for this work of mine is a history of deeds and not a moral treatise: but when the ancient enemy had diffused, far and near, the spirit of corruption, he more especially took possession of the land of Syria, so that other nations now drew an example of uncleanness from the same source which formerly had supplied them with the elements of religion. For this cause, therefore, the Lord seeing that the land of his birth and place of his passion had sunk into an abyss of turpitude, treated with neglect his inheritance, and suffered Saladin, the rod of his wrath, to put forth his fury to the destruction of that stiff-necked people; for he would rather that the Holy Land should, for a short time,

be subject to the profane rites of the heathen, than that it should any longer be possessed by those men, whom no regard for what is right could deter from things unlawful. The approach of future destruction was foretold by divers events: famine, earthquakes, and frequent eclipses, both of the sun and of the moon. And that strong wind also, which astronomers prophesied would spring out of the conjunction of the planets, became changed to the signification of this event. It was a mighty wind indeed; it shook the four cardinal points of the earth, and foreshewed that the whole of the globe was about to be stirred up to troubles and wars.

CH. II.—*How Saladin invaded Palestine.*

SALADIN, therefore, having assembled his bands of warriors, violently assailed Palestine, and sent forward Manafaradin, admiral of Edessa, with 7,000 Turks, to ravage the Holy Land. This man, when he had marched as far as the parts about Tiberias, was there encountered by Gerard de Riddeford, master of the Templars,* and Roger de Moulins, master of the Hospital; one of whom they routed and put to flight, and slew the other in a sudden attack. In this battle a few of our soldiers were cut off and surrounded by an immense multitude, which led to an achievement of distinction which deserves to be recorded. A certain knight of the Temple, by birth a German, named Jakeline de Maillé, by his extraordinary valour provoked the enemy to turn all their attacks on him. His fellow-soldiers, who were estimated about 500 in number, were all either taken or slain, and he alone sustained the weight of the whole battle,—a glorious champion for God's law! At length, hemmed in by the enemy's troops, and destitute of all human aid, seeing so many thousands rushing upon him on every side, he gathered up his whole courage for an effort, and bravely faced the foe alone. His valour attracted the admiration of his enemies; they were filled with compassion for him, and called earnestly

* There is some doubt whether the grand master of the Templars at this time was named Riddeford or Biddeford. The readings of the MSS. vary between Riddeford, Biddeford, and Tiddeford, but probability seems to be in favour of the first. After the battle, Roger de Moulins was found dead among a heap of Turks and Saracens whom he had slain with his own hand. Jacqueline de Maillé was the marshal of the Temple.

to him to surrender. He, however, turning a deaf ear to their exhortations, was not afraid to die for Christ, but overwhelmed with the load of javelins, stones, and lances, rather than vanquished, he at length was with difficulty slain, and his soul fled triumphant, bearing the palm of martyrdom, to the heavenly kingdom. His death indeed was rendered glorious, since by his single sword so large a circle of dead bodies had been heaped around him. It was sweet for a man to die thus, himself in the centre, surrounded by the unbelievers whom his brave arm had slaughtered. [And inasmuch as he rode on a white horse and fought that day in white armour, the idolaters who knew St. Gregory to have fought in such costume, boasted that they had slain the knight of the white armour, who was the bulwark of the Christians.*] There was, in the place of this conflict, some stubble which the reaper had left after the ears had been cut off a short time before, but the Turks had rushed over it in such multitudes, and this single champion had held out so long against them, that the field in which they stood was wholly trampled to dust, and shewed no signs of a crop of corn ever having grown there. It is said, there were some who sprinkled the limbs of the dead man with dust, which they afterwards placed on their own heads, believing that they derived force from the contact; and one man, as is said, more ardent than the rest, cut off certain members of the man, and kept them for his own use, that even though dead they might perchance produce a successor to such distinguished valour.

CH. III.—*Of the origin of Saladin.*

At this victory Saladin rejoiced greatly; and fired with the ambition of gaining the kingdom turned his thoughts to still greater deeds. But that future ages may know more of this persecutor of the Christian name, I will premise a few particulars of his origin, as far as the brevity at which I aim will allow. He was of the race of the Mirmuræni, the son of parents who were not noble, though not a plebeian of obscure birth. His father was called Job, and his own name was Joseph. For according to

* This passage is omitted in some copies, and is very likely to be spurious. May we not read St. George instead of St. Gregory?

the tradition of Mahomet, it is customary among many of the heathens, when they circumcise their children, to give them Hebrew names also; but their princes, that they may be admonished by their names to be zealous defenders of the Mahometan law, take their own names from the very name of that law. Now, law in their language, is Hadin. Hence Saladin is so called as the upholder of the law; and, as our princes are called either emperors or kings, so theirs are called sultans (*soldani*), as it were sold-dominants.* Now Saladin, under Noradin, sultan of Damascus, as a first omen of his power, began by raising an infamous tribute for himself out of the venal courtiezans of that city; for he would not allow them to exercise their profession until they had first purchased of him a license. Whatever money he obtained by this base patronage, he lavishly expended on players, and so under the plea of largess, he concealed the design of obtaining the venal favour of the multitude. He was led to aspire at sovereignty by the prediction of a certain Syrian, that he should obtain the government of Damascus and Babylon.† Thus he arranged in his own mind the different steps to power, and soon began to aim at more than a kingdom of a small or limited dimensions. In process of time, when his years were matured and he was fit for military service, he came to Enfrid of Tours, the illustrious prince of Palestine, to be mantled, and after the manner of the Franks received from him the belt of knighthood.

CH. IV.—*How Saladin seized on the kingdoms of Egypt and Damascus, with India and other countries.*

At that time a certain Mahometan, named Sewar, governed all Egypt, under Molanus, whom they called Lord in the language of their country, and he had been compelled to pay tribute to Amalric, the victorious king of Jerusalem. Now Molanus shewed himself only three times a year to the Egyptians, who made adoration to him on those occasions, and all his subjects thought him so powerful, that it was said the Nile overflowed at his command. Moreover, in obedience to the statutes of the heathen law, he had as many concubines as there

* This must be considered rather as a monkish pun, than as offered for a derivation of the Saracenic word.

† The Babylon referred to is of course Babylon in Egypt, now Fostat the seat of the Fatimite khalifa.

are days in the year, and so passing his life in his harem, he gave up all the business of his kingdom to Sewar. At this time Saladin, with his uncle, Saracun, was serving in Egypt, and by an act of treachery, he put to death Molanus and Sewar, and thus gained for himself the sovereignty of Egypt. Not long after, Noradin died, and Saladin, marrying the widow, expelled the lawful heirs, and secured for himself through her the possession of their kingdom. Thus the caprice of fortune brought about the establishment of his great power; she is able to make a rich man out of a poor one; a great man out of a little one; and a lord out of a peasant. If things were measured by judgment, and not by opinion, all earthly power, which can be gained by the wicked and the unworthy, would be estimated as dross. That patron of prostitutes, whose power was among stews, his campaigns in a tavern, his studies among dice and garlic, is suddenly lifted up; he sits among princes, and is even greater than princes; he rules on the throne of Egypt; subdues Damascus; occupies the lands of Roasia and Gesyra, and carries his sovereignty to the centre of India Citerior. Wherefore he assails also and subdues the neighbouring kingdoms, at one time by arms, at another time by deceit, and making one monarchy out of several sceptres, arrogates to himself alone the power of so many kings. Neither is the tyrant's cupidity ever gratified; the more he gets the more he covets, and strives with all his power to occupy the land which is the inheritance of our Lord. At length an opportunity arose favourable to his wishes, and he hoped to obtain what he never before presumed to hope for. For Raimund, count of Tripoli, and Guy, the eighth king of the Latins,* quarrelled for the sovereignty, and a fatal sedition arose among the people.

CH. V.—*Of the immense army with which Saladin attacked the army of the Christians, and captured our Lord's cross with the king Guy, and Acre, and reduced to submission the Land of Promise.*

THE opportunity above mentioned at once roused his ambitious mind, and promised him a brilliant and sure success. [Moreover it was not altogether without cause that the sultan

* This was Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem from 1186 to 1191. If we count from Godfrey de Bouillon, Guy was the ninth, and not the eighth, of the Latin kings of Jerusalem.

declared war; Reginald, prince of Antioch, having broken the terms of truce, which had been agreed upon between our people and the unbelievers. For once upon a time, when a large and wealthy caravan of Mahometans were passing from Damascus to Egypt, and, trusting to the truce, did not hesitate to pass over the frontiers of the Christian territories, the aforesaid prince suddenly attacked them, and dishonourably carried them off prisoners, together with all their baggage. The sultan, excited on one side by his ambition, and on the other moved with indignation at the outrage, raised all the strength of his kingdom, and assailed with power and impetuosity the territories of Jerusalem. If the number of men, the variety of nations, and the diversity of religions were fully described, as the law of history demands, my plan of brevity would be interrupted by the ample details of such a narrative: Parthians, Bedouins, Arabs, Medes, Cordians, and Egyptians, though differing in country, religion, and name, were all aroused with one accord to the destruction of the Holy Land. As our troops were marching to meet them, and the fatal day approached, a fearful vision was seen by the king's chamberlain, who dreamt that an eagle flew past the Christian army, bearing seven missiles and a balista in its talons, and crying with a loud voice, "Woe to thee, Jerusalem!" To explain the mystery of this vision, we need, I think, only take the words of Scripture; "The Lord hath bent his bow, and in it prepared the vessels of death." What are the seven missiles, but a figure for the seven sins by which that unhappy army was soon to perish? By this number, seven, may also be understood the number of punishments that impended over the Christians, which was some time after fulfilled by the event, that too faithful and terrible interpreter of omens. The battle had not begun, when, the armies having been drawn out at a short distance from Tiberias, at a place called the Marescallia, the Lord hemmed in his people with the sword, and as a punishment for the sins of men, gave over his inheritance to slaughter and devastation. What need I say more? Neither the plan of my work, nor the immensity of the calamity, allows me to find lamentations for all its details. However, to sum all up in few words, so many were slain there, so many wounded, and so many cast into prison, that the destruction of our people drew pity even from the enemies. That vivifying

wood of the cross of our salvation, on which our Lord and Redeemer hung, and down whose shaft the holy blood of Christ flowed, the sign of which is adored by angels, venerated by men, and feared by devils, under whose protection our men have always been victors in war, alas ! is now captured by the enemy, and the two bearers of the cross, the bishop of Acre, and the precentor of our Lord's tomb (the bishop of St. George), fell with it, the one slain, the other a prisoner. This was the second indignity, since Chosroes, king of the Persians, which that holy cross endured for our sins ; it had redeemed us from the old yoke of captivity, and now it was captured from us, and soiled by the profane hands of the unbelievers.

Let him that hath intelligence consider how fierce must have been God's wrath, how great the iniquity of his servants, when unbelievers were deemed less unworthy than Christians to become its guardians. Nothing ever happened so lamentable in all ancient times ; for neither the captivity of God's ark, nor that of the kings of Judah, can compare with the calamity of our own times, by which the king and the glorious cross are taken captive together. Of the other prisoners, whose number was both extraordinary and lamentable, part were reserved unhurt to be placed at the victor's disposal, part were dispatched with the sword, and so found a happy and short by-road to heaven ! Among others was Reginald prince of Antioch : he was led into the presence of the sultan, and that tyrant, either following the impulse of his passion, or envious of the great excellence of the man, cut off with his own hand that veteran and aged head. All the Templars also who were taken, except their master, he ordered to be decapitated, wishing utterly to exterminate those whom he knew to be valiant above all others in battle. O what faith, what fervour of mind was theirs ! How many assumed the tonsure of the Templars, and flocked eagerly round their executioners, joyfully presenting their necks to the sword, in the pious fraud of this new costume ! Among these soldiers of Christ was a Templar, named Nicholas, who had so induced others to aspire to martyrdom, that, by reason of their emulation to be beforehand with him, he could hardly succeed in first obtaining the mortal stroke which he coveted. Nor did the Divine mercy withhold its miraculous manifesta-

tion, for during the three following nights, when the bodies of the holy martyrs were lying still unburied, a ray of celestial light shone over them from above.

When the noise of battle had ceased, Saladin seeing prisoners carried off in all directions, and the ground on all sides covered with the slain, lifting up his eyes to heaven, gave thanks to God for the victory which he had gained. This was his practice in all cases; but at present among other things, he is reported to have said, that it was not his own power but our crimes which had given him the victory; and it was proved to be so by the character of the event. In other engagements, our army, however moderate in size, with t^h Divine aid always conquered; but now, because we were not with God, nor God with us, our people were altogether defeated, even before the conflict, though they were reckoned at more than 1,000 knights and more than 20,000 footmen: so entirely had the whole force of the kingdom flocked together at the king's command to that fatal campaign, that those only remained to guard the cities and castles, whom weakness of sex or age rendered unfit to bear arms. This disastrous battle was fought on the day of the translation of St. Martin, and in one moment all the glory of the kingdom passed from it and was extinguished. The sultan, therefore, trusting that the fortresses of the kingdom would be easily taken, now that their defenders were slain, carried the captive king in triumph through the castles of Syria, reserving him as a mark for his ridicule, to be shewn to the cities which he wished to take and to enforce their surrender. With this view he marched first to Acre, and took it without a blow, granting the citizens leave to remove themselves and their effects to whatever place they pleased.

CH. VI.—*Of the capture of the Christians, who unwarily put in at the port of Acre.*

MEANWHILE our sailors were proceeding on their customary voyage to Acre, coming from Christian countries, and laden some with merchandise, others with pilgrims. Alas! they had not heard what had happened, and they entered the hostile port to be made prisoners. It was indeed a sad destiny: they hailed the sight of land, where chains were pre-

pared for them on landing: they rejoiced to have passed the dangers of the sea, and the sword awaited them: they hoped for repose after their fatigues, and they found persecution: some of them were kept as prisoners, many of them were made objects of derision, a few were allowed to escape, but designedly naked and helpless, that others might be deterred by their example.

CH. VII.—*How the Marquis Conrad escaped being taken in the same snare, and proceeded to Tyre.*

AMONG others, the marquis, on his way from Constantinople, dropped his sails outside the port of Acre, and, as it was near sunset, lay to till the morning. For the silence which prevailed in the city created suspicion, since at other times there was a general shout of congratulation when any vessel appeared; the ensigns of the sultan, seen in different parts of the city, gave still more cause for apprehension. Some of the Saracen galleys were now seen approaching, but the rest of the crew becoming alarmed, the marquis commanded them to be silent, and stood forth as their spokesman. When, therefore, those who were sent asked who they were, he said it was a merchantship, and he was the master; that he had heard what had happened, and being a devoted servant of the sultan, would wait on him at break of day and exhibit his wares. That same night, the wind being favourable, he sailed to Tyre, and undertook the task of defending it: his arrival was alike a protection to all other Christians who should come, and would have contributed to his own glory, if he had only persevered to the end in the same line of conduct. This was the marquis Conrad, an Italian by birth, a man of singular activity, and brave in all he undertook.* But however noble the beginning, when it is tarnished by a disgraceful end, it merits shame rather than glory.

The sultan, after the capture of Acre, followed by the surrender of Berytus and Sidon, expected to take Tyre with the same ease, but was shamefully repulsed from its walls, and raised the siege.

* Conrad was the son of William III., marquis of Montferrat; he had given powerful assistance in quelling a rebellion at Constantinople, and in reward had received the hand of the emperor's sister.

CH. VIII.—*How Saladin, after the capture of Berytus and Sidon, was repulsed from the walls of Tyre, and took Ascalon by a false treaty.*

SALADIN, taking the king with him, proceeded thence to Ascalon, and planting his machines for throwing stones, began to assail it. The town is easy to be taken if defended by a weak garrison, though its great strength renders it invincible if sufficiently garrisoned. The insatiable invader, eager above all things to obtain this city, nevertheless distrusted his ability to take it by force, for he did not know how things were within its walls, nor how deficient it was both in arms, men, and victuals. He therefore agreed to a capitulation, by which the citizens were to depart freely with their effects, and the king, with fifteen other distinguished captives, were to be set at liberty as soon as possible. On the same day that this capitulation gave him possession of the city, the sun, as if in sympathy, was eclipsed, and withdrew its light from the city and from the world. The perjured and perfidious tyrant, too, was faithless in the performance of part of his agreement; for the king was carried to Damascus, and was there held in chains until the ensuing month of May; nor was he released from his captivity until he had first consented to abjure his crown.

CH. IX.—*Jerusalem is taken and treated with indignity: the people who ransom themselves are expelled, the rest are made slaves.*

THE fall of Jerusalem was now impending: the victor advancing with speed equal to his hatred, laid siege to the city; and erecting his machines, with sacrilegious irreverence profaned all the holy places. There was a certain cross of stone, which our soldiers formerly, when, after the capture of Antioch, they had gloriously taken this city, had erected on the wall in commemoration of the deed. The ferocious invaders destroyed this cross with a blow from one of their machines, and at the same time struck down a great part of the wall. The citizens interposed such defences as they were able, but all the exertions of our men were ineffectual: bows, balistas, and slings were used to no purpose; both arms and machines visibly declared that the Lord was wroth, and foretold the fall of the city. A large number of people had flocked together to the city from the neighbouring

fortresses, trusting rather in the sanctity of the place than in the strength of its defences; but in so great a multitude hardly fourteen knights could be found. The priests and clerks, although it was contrary to their profession, discharged the duties of soldiers, according to the emergency, and fought bravely for the Lord's house, bearing in mind the maxim, that to repel force by force is allowed by all laws both human and divine. But the populace, alike ignorant and timorous, flocked in numbers round the patriarch and the queen, who were left in charge of the city, bitterly complaining and earnestly entreating that they might treat with the sultan for peace, as soon as possible. Their capitulation, however, was one to be deplored, rather than praised: for each of them had to pay the ransom of his own life; a man was valued at ten bezants, a woman at five, a child at one; and whoever was unable to pay, was made a slave. It thus happened that when many of them, either out of their own property, or by aids gathered from other sources, had paid the price of their safety, there remained 14,000, who could not redeem themselves, and were made slaves for life. To those who purchased their liberty, the choice was given, either to proceed to Antioch, or to be carried under safe conduct to Alexandria, and thence to cross the sea. That day was indeed a bitter day, on which the exiles separated, each on his different road, and left that sacred city, that city which had been the queen of cities, but which was now reduced to slavery; that city which was the inheritance of its children, but was now in the hands of strangers, on account of the wickedness of those who dwelt therein.

Glorious was Jerusalem, the city of God, where the Lord suffered, and was buried, and where he displayed the glory of his resurrection; but she is now subject to contamination at the hands of her baseborn foe: nor is there any grief like that grief, that they should possess the sepulchre, who persecuted Him that lies buried in it; and those, who had despised the Crucified, have made themselves masters of his Cross! This most holy city had been, for about ninety-six years, in the hands of our people, ever since the victorious arms of the Christians had taken it, at the same time as Antioch; when it had been forty years before in the possession of the unbelievers. When the city was taken, the error

of the Mahometan law proceeded to the summit of the rock of Calvary, and there published their false law, in the place where Christ had consummated the law of death upon the cross. Another diabolical act was perpetrated by the enemy. They fastened ropes round a certain cross, which stood upon the pinnacle of the church of the Hospitallers, and dragged it to the ground, where they spat upon it, and hacked it, and drew it, in derision of our faith, through all the filth of the city.

CH. X.—*How Saladin besieged Tyre by sea and land.*

Now the queen, who was the daughter of King Amalric, and was named Sibilla, together with Heraclius the patriarch, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and an immense multitude of fellow-exiles, directed their course towards Antioch. How she had a sad interview at Neapolis with the captive king her husband, and how the marquis violently carried off to Tyre the ship in which she intended to embark, brevity compels us to pass over. But we must not omit to mention how Saladin, burning with desire to take the city of Tyre, went against it a second time with all his army, and not content with besieging it by land, he blockaded it from the sea with his galleys, and prepared to attack it on every side. That nothing might be left untried, he brought forward the marquis's father, whom he had taken prisoner in the battle before mentioned, trusting that the son, moved by filial affection, would give up the city in exchange for his parent. At one moment he offers him in exchange, at another he threatens him with death, and tries various means of working upon his feelings. All, however, is in vain, for the marquis, inflexible, derides his offers and despises his threats. Whenever, to move his compassion, they shew him his father in chains, he immediately seizes a balista, and aims a shaft obliquely towards him, intending indeed that his hand shall err, but feigning to take good aim. And when the sultan's messengers came to threaten that his father should be slain, he replied that he wished it by all means; that the wicked man, after so many crimes, might at length find a good end, and he might himself have a martyr for his father. Thus the tyrant, failing in his expectation of gaining the city by these means, tried his fortune in another way; and where art failed, determined to see what could be done by arms.

Tyre is situated in the heart of the sea, and is surrounded

on all sides by walls. A ^{big} of two earls, five hundred knights, washed by the waves, is for
It was once famous for it is
founders of Thebes and Cartam, *knighthage*. *sends Margaritus with fifty*
Judea, Tyre had her own *sed knight* sovereign, *ance of the Holy Land*.
the head of her own dominion, sons, in process of glory of having
a part of the kingdom of *oli*, and Jerusalem. This who preserved
for now assailed by land *he sw* and sea; and, whilst these cities
within from hunger, it *yth?* was exposed to manifold *net* was
from without. On the morrow *after Innocent's day*, nameth
on the feast of the blessed *pirsed martyr Thomas** the citizens
gained an important *vist* was *ctory*, for at dawn of day they
sailed out with a few *smg* in *all* vessels, and in a naval engage-
ment obliged the enemy *ngers* to raise the siege on the side of the
sea. They seemed *inictori* indeed more fitted for flight than
fighting; and on the first *st* onset, all the enemy's fleet, by the
power of the Almighty, *to*, were so panic-struck, that some of
them were carried into the city with their crews: the rest
in their flight ran *agrad* bound and there perished. The un-
believers, seeing this *en* *morgagement* by sea, supposed that all the
defenders of the city *hat* *heir* left it, and thus, confident of victory,
they attacked the town *whet* with impetuosity. Already their troops
had reached the fort. *ifications*, and numbers were hasting to
mount them, when the *Cross* *marquis* ordered the gates to be thrown
open, and followed by *ield* *Hugh of Tiberias*, with his brothers and
a noble company of *mes* *een* besides, struck down multitudes with
his small band. *Salad* is *co* in seeing the fortunes of the day against
him, gave orders that *unsy* his remaining engines and galleys should
be burnt, and *retre* of *ated* ingloriously. Afterwards, about the
beginning of *day*, *le* he released the king from captivity, and,
having broken his *former* agreement, imposed, as we have
already mentioned, *tr* a new and hard condition.

CH. XI.—Of the meeting of th king and queen.

THERE is an island called Arados, having a city named Antharados, but commonly called Tortosa. Hither the queen came to meet the king: they kiss and embrace one another, shedding tears of joy, and rejoice at having escaped the

* Dec. 29, 1187. Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered the 29th of December. seventeen years before.



Holy Land, consisting of two earls, five hundred knights, and fifty galleys !

CH. XIV.—*How William, king of Sicily, sends Margaritus with fifty galleys and five hundred knights to the assistance of the Holy Land.*

To whom else, then, can we give the glory of having saved Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre, but to Him who preserved from famine and the sword the inhabitants of these cities secure in his strength ? At the head of the royal fleet was Margaritus, a very brave man, who, proceeding in advance with the galleys, repressed piratical attempts ; and having ascertained that the coast was clear, encouraged the others to follow him. Keeping in check the distant islands, and happily escaping all the dangers of the sea, he had gained such credit by his numerous victories, that he was called the king of the sea, and by some a second Neptune. Already Tripoli appeared in sight to his sailors : the citizens, on the other hand, beheld in the advance his spreading sails. Though they come the heralds of safety, yet fear, that worst prognosticator at critical moments, raises apprehensions. Without delay they man their walls and mount the bulwarks, uncertain, however, whether to offer a surrender or to try the chance of battle. But when the ships arrive near, and the ensigns of the Cross and other emblems of the Christian religion are beheld on their lofty sterns, a loud shout is raised ; the waves echo the sound of their mutual congratulations ; the shore is covered with the crowds who flock to meet them, and joy unspeakable fills the breasts of all. Among others, Hervy of Dantzic, especially distinguished by the celebrity of his deeds, contributes his veteran wisdom to the defence of that land ; and so in a short time, many a valiant band flocked thither, and the coast was preserved from the power of the enemy.

CH. XV.—*Saladin takes the town Erathrum, and Mount Royal is surrendered to him after a siege of two years, in exchange for Remfrid de Tours, and Girard, the master of the Temple.*

THERE is a castle called Erathrum, where once stood the city of Petras. It is still a metropolitan see, and the prelate retaining his ancient title, is still called the archbishop of Petras. This castle, lying in the innermost parts of the

kingdom, was long held in siege by the admirals of the sultan. If it were not for famine, which conquers all places however secure, this fortress would be impregnable. There is also a castle called Mount Royal, distant about twenty leagues from the aforesaid city, lying further towards Egypt. Against this also the sultan had sent his admirals at the beginning of the war; trusting to reduce it by famine, though he could not by arms. They did not, therefore, erect machines or try to assault it; for it would be ridiculous to try to scale heaven and to carry by storm a place which could not be approached. The siege was protracted two years, when our people began to feel want, and they endured all the horrors which the Spaniards are said in ancient times to have suffered at Saguntum or the Romans at Perusium; but they still kept up their courage, nor did they decline to eat food at which man's usual habits and nature revolt. Fatherly affection renounces its rights; love, too, heeds no longer what ^{one} ~~son~~ once delighted in; the father rejects his son, the son ~~from~~ ^{from} decrepit parents, and the husband his newly-married bride. They are driven out weeping from the walls and exposed without protection to the enemy, that the remaining stock of food may the longer maintain the fighting men. At last, worn out and half dead with hunger, they enter into terms of capitulation, but yet such as honour would sanction; for they obtained a free passage for themselves and liberty for their lord Remfrid of Tours who had been taken prisoner. By a similar fortune, Gerard de Riddeford, master of the Temple, was also released on the surrender of certain fortresses; and the father of the marquis obtained his liberty in exchange for some of the Mahomedan captives.

CH. XVI.—*How Saladin, extolling the law of Mahomet, is reproved by a jester.*

SALADIN by these means had got possession of nearly all the kingdom, and every thing succeeded to his wishes. Elevated with his proud triumphs, he talked in magnificent terms of the law of Mahomet, and pointed to the result of his enterprise as a proof that it was superior to the law of Christ.

These insolent vaunts he often threw out in the presence of the Christians, one of whom, well known to him for his loquacity, on a certain occasion, inspired by the Almighty, turned

him into ridicule by the following reply: "God, who is the father of the faithful, judging the Christians worthy of reproof and correction for their crimes, has chosen thee, O prince, as his agent in this matter: thus sometimes a worldly father in anger seizes a dirty stick out of the mire, wherewith when he has chastised his erring sons, he throws it back among the filth where he found it."

CH. XVII.—*First of Richard, earl of Poitou, then of Henry, king of the English, and of Philip, king of the French.*

WHILST these things were done in Palestine, the archbishop of Tyre had embarked on ship-board, and already reported to Christendom the news of this great calamity, and the affliction of so small a kingdom was felt as a calamity over many countries. Fame had carried to the ears of all the kings, and of all the faithful, that the inheritance of Christ was occupied by the heathen: some were affected to tears by the news, and some were stimulated to vengeance. First of all, Richard the brave earl of Poitou, assumed the cross to revenge its wrongs, and took the lead of all, inviting others by his example. His father Henry, king of England, was now declining in years; yet the young man was not deterred by either his father's advanced age, or his own right to the throne, or the difficulties of so long a voyage: no arguments could deter him from his purpose. The Almighty, to reward the valour of this brave man, whom he had chosen to be the first inciter of the others, reserved him, after the other princes were dead or returned to their own country, to achieve his great work. Some time after, Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, take the cross at Gisors, followed by the nobles of both kingdoms, with numbers of the clergy and laity,—all, with equal aspirations, bent upon the same design. So great was the ardour of this new pilgrimage, that it was no longer a question who would take the cross, but who had not yet taken it. Several persons sent a present of a distaff and wool to one another, as a significant hint that whosoever declined the campaign would degrade himself as much as if he did the duties of a woman: wives urged their husbands, mothers their sons, to devote themselves to this noble contest; and they only regretted that the weakness of their sex prevented themselves from going also. The renown of this expedition spread so

extraordinarily, that many migrated from the cloister to the camp, and exchanging the cowl for the cuirass, shewed themselves truly Christ's soldiers, and quitting their libraries for the study of arms. The prelates of the churches publicly preached to one another the virtue of abstinence, admonishing all men that, laying aside all extravagance in eating and dress, they should refrain from their accustomed luxuries. It was agreed also both among nobles and bishops, by common consent, that to maintain the pilgrims who were poor, those who remained at home should pay tithes of their property; but the flagitious cupidity of many took advantage of this to lay heavy and undue exactions upon their subjects. In those days William, king of Sicily, yielded to the lot of mortality; and his death was the cause of so much the greater sorrow to all the faithful, because he had always been prompt and ready to lend assistance to the Holy Land.

CH. XVIII.—*The emperor of the Romans (Frederic Barbarossa) takes the cross.*

IN process of time, Frederic, the Roman emperor, assumed the insignia of the holy pilgrimage, and displayed, both outwardly in his dress, and inwardly in his heart, the form of a true pilgrim. So great a king, whose empire was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean Sea, on the north by the Northern Ocean, whose glory was augmented by continual victories, whose fortune had experienced no check, resigns every pleasure and blandishment of the world, and humbly girds on his sword to fight for Christ. His bravery, especially in his declining years, is no less to be wondered at than praised; for though he was an old man and had sons, whose age and valour seemed better adapted to military service, yet esteeming them insufficient, he took upon himself the charge of defending Christianity; but when his sons urged him to let them discharge the task which he had undertaken, either in his stead or in his company, he left his eldest son to govern his empire, and the younger, whom he had created duke of Suabia, he took with him on the expedition; and because the imperial majesty never assails any one without sending a defiance, but always gives notice of war to his enemies, a herald is dispatched from the emperor to Saladin, calling upon him to give full satisfaction to Christendom, which he has injured, or, failing to do so, to prepare himself for war.

THE EPISTLE OF FREDERIC TO SALADIN.

Frederic, by the grace of God emperor of the Romans, ever-august, the magnificent triumpher over the enemies of the empire, and the fortunate governor of the whole monarchy, to the illustrious Saladin, formerly governor of the Saracens. May he take warning from Pharaoh, and touch not Jerusalem!

The letters which your devotion sent to us a long time ago, on weighty and important matters, and which would have benefited you if reliance could have been placed on your words, we received, as became the magnificence of our majesty, and deemed it meet to communicate by letter with your greatness. But now that you have profaned the Holy Land, over which we, by the authority of the Eternal King, bear rule, as guardian of Judea, Samaria, and Palestine, solicitude for our imperial office admonishes us to proceed with due rigour against such presumptuous and criminal audacity. Wherefore, unless, before all things, you restore the land which you have seized, and give due satisfaction, to be adjudged according to the holy constitutions, for such nefarious excesses, that we may not appear to wage unlawful war against you, we give you, from the first of November, a period of twelve months, after which you shall experience the fortune of war, in the field of Zoan,* by the virtue of the vivifying cross, and in the name of the true Joseph. For we can scarcely believe that you are ignorant of that which all antiquity and the writings of the ancients testify. Do you pretend not to know that both the Æthiopias, Mauritania, Persia, Scythia, Parthia, where our general Marcus Crassus met with a premature death, Judea, Samaria, Maritima, Arabia, and Chaldæa, also Egypt, where, shame to say! a Roman citizen, Antony, a man endowed with signal virtues, passing the bounds of temperance, and acting otherwise than as became a soldier sent from so great a state, submitted to the unchaste love of Cleopatra—do you pretend not to know that Armenia, and other innumerable countries, have been subject to our sway? This is well known to those

* The allusion is to Psalm lxxviii. 12. The emperor seems to mean that he will attack Saladin in Egypt.

kings in whose blood the Roman sword has been so often steeped; and you, God willing, shall learn by experience the might of our victorious eagles, and be made acquainted with our troops of many nations—the arger of Germany—the untamed head of the Rhine—the youth from the banks of the Danube, who know not how to flee—the towering Bavarian—the cunning Suabian—the cautious Franconian—Saxony, that sports with the sword—Thuringia—Westphalia—the active Brabantine—the Lorrainer unused to peace—the fiery Burgundian—the nimble mountaineer of the Alps—the Frison with his javelin and thong—the Bohemian ever ready to brave death—Bologna fiercer than her own fierce beasts—Austria—Byria—Ruwennia—Istria—Rocumphia—Illyria—Lombardy—Tuscany—the march of Ancona—the resolute Venetian and the Pisan sailor—and lastly, also, you shall assuredly be taught how our own right hand, which you suppose to be enfeebled by old age, can still wield the sword upon that day of reverence and gladness which has been appointed for the triumph of Christ's cause.

We think it right to insert in our history the letter which Saladin sent in reply to the foregoing. The proud boasting of the tyrant, which he had conceived in his opposition, is sufficiently manifest in it. However, we give it in the simple form of words in which it was written, without changing a syllable of it.

To the great king, his sincere friend, the illustrious Frederic, king of Germany:—In the name of God the merciful: by the grace of the one God, the powerful, the surpassing, the victorious, the everlasting, of whose kingdom there is no end.

We give continual thanks to Him, whose grace is over all the world: we pray that he may pour out his inspiration over all his prophets, and especially on our teacher, his messenger the prophet, Mahomet, whom he sent to teach the true law, which he will make to appear above all laws. But we make it known to the sinceré and powerful king, our great, amicable friend, the king of Germany, that a certain man, named Henry, came to us, professing to be your envoy, and he gave us a letter, which he said was from your hand. We

caused the letter to be read, and we heard him speak by word of mouth, and to the words which he spake by word of mouth we answered also in words. But this is the answer to your letter:—You enumerate those who are leagued with you to come against us, and you name them and say—the king of this land and the king of that land—this count and that count, and such archbishops, marquises, and knights. But if we wished to enumerate those who are in our service, and who listen to our commands, and obey our words, and would fight for us, this is a list which could not be reduced to writing. If you reckon up the names of the Christians, the Saracens are more numerous and many times more numerous than the Christians. If the sea lies between us and those whom you name Christians, there is no sea to separate the Saracens, who cannot be numbered; between us and those who will come to aid us, there is no impediment. With us are the Bedouins, who would be quite sufficient singly to oppose our enemies; and the Turkomans, who, unaided, could destroy them: even our peasants, if we were to bid them, would fight bravely against the nations which should come to invade our country, and would despoil them of their riches and exterminate them. What! have we not on our side the warlike Soldarii, by whom we have opened and gained the land, and driven out our enemies? These, and all the kings of Paganism will not be slow when we shall summon them, nor delay when we shall call them. And whenever your armies shall be assembled, according to the import of your letter, and you shall lead them, as your messenger tells us, we will then meet you in the power of God. Nor will we be satisfied with the land which is on the sea-coast, but we will cross over with God's good pleasure, and will take from you all your lands, in the strength of the Lord. For if you come, you will come with all your forces, and will be present with all your people, and we know that there will remain none at home to defend themselves or fight for their country. And when the Lord, by his power, shall have given us victory over you, nothing will remain for us to do but freely to take your lands, by His power, and with His good pleasure. For the union of the Christian faith has twice come against us in Babylon; once at Damietta, and again at Alexandria: it was also in the coast of the land of Jerusalem while in the hand of the Chris-

tians, in the land of Damascus, and in the land of the Saracens; in each fortress there was a lord who studied his own interests. You know how the Christians each time returned, and to what an issue they came. But these our people are assembled together with their countries, and the Lord has associated with us countries in abundance, and united them far and wide under our power: Babylon, with its dependencies, and the land of Damascus, and Jerusalem on the sea-coast, and the land of Gesireh with its castles, and the land of Roasia with its dependencies, and the land of India with its dependencies—by the grace of God, all this is in our hands, and the residue of the Saracenic kings is in our empire. For if we were to command the illustrious kings of the Saracens, they would not withdraw themselves from us. And if we were to admonish the caliph of Bagdad (whom God preserve) to come to our aid, he would rise from the throne of his great empire, and would come to help our excellence. We have obtained, also, by the virtue and power of God, Jerusalem and its territory; and of the three cities which still remain in the hands of the Christians, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, nothing remains but that we should occupy them also. But, if you wish for war, and if God so will of his good pleasure that we occupy the whole land of the Christians, we will meet you in the power of the Lord, as is written in this our letter. But, if you ask us for the boon of peace, you will command the warders of the three places above mentioned to deliver them up to us without resistance; and we will restore to you the holy cross, and will liberate all the Christian captives who are in all our territories; and we will be at peace with you, and will allow you to have one priest at the sepulchre, and we will restore the abbeys which used to be in the time of Paganism,* and will do good to them, and will permit the pilgrims to come during all our life, and we will be at peace with you. But if the letter which came to us by the hand of Henry be the letter of the king, we have written this letter for answer, and may God give us counsel according to his will. This letter is written in the year of the coming of our prophet Mahomet 584, by the grace of the only God. And

* This letter has evidently been translated out of the original Saracenic with reference to Christian notions: a Saracen would hardly have described his own faith by the word "paganism."

may God save our prophet Mahomet and his race, ~~the~~ emperor he save the salvation of our Saviour, illustrious Lord, ^{stop} victorious King; the giver of unity; the true word; the adorning of the standard of truth; the corrector of the world and of the law; sultan of the Saracens and Pagans; the servitor of the two holy houses, and of the holy house of Jerusalem; the father of victors; Joseph the son of Job; the reviver of the progeny of Murmuræus! *

CH. XIX.—*How the emperor Frederic Barbarossa assembled his army throughout Hungary.*

THIS letter of the proud and faithless tyrant, with its absurdities, the magnificent emperor treated with contempt; and, filled with indignation worthy of a prince, prepared all his forces for the war. The princes of all the empire followed him, and when they were met at Mayence, according to the imperial edict, all of them joined with one acclaim in taking the vow of so noble a pilgrimage. This was the Lord's doing, of Him whose inspiration bloweth where it listeth, who inclines the hearts of men at his will. For these great princes were neither allured by a desire of vain glory, nor induced by bribes or entreaties, but solely by desire of the heavenly reward: by the Lord, and the Lord alone, were they led to buckle on their armour for this warfare. For the loftiness of the heavenly wisdom had provided that, as they were enlisted of their own free will, they rendered a service agreeable to God, and the imperial magnificence was accompanied by a train of worthy followers. Thus, then, led by the Holy Spirit, they flocked together on every side; and whoever could have seen so many nations and princes under one commander, must have believed that the ancient glory of Rome was not yet departed. In this army of Christ were pontiffs, dukes, earls, marquises, and other nobles, without number; for if we were to recapitulate their names and territories, the writer would become tedious, his reader be disgusted, and his plan of brevity be overthrown. It was determined by a prudent counsel that no one should go on this expedition whose means could not provide him with supplies for one

* It is hoped the reader may possess some clue to the meaning of this elegant rhapsody: the translator has given these titles as literally as possible, and does not venture on a word of comment.

A large number of carriages were constructed for the use of the pilgrims who should be sick, that they might neither give trouble to the sound, nor be left behind and perish. It had long been a question whether the mass of the army should proceed by sea or land. But it seemed that any number of ships, however large, would be insufficient to transport so great a multitude. The emperor, therefore, urging on the task which he had undertaken, determined to march through Hungary, and so, though he was the last sovereign who took the vow of pilgrimage, he was the first to carry it into effect.

CH. XX.—*Bela, king of the Hungarians, receives the king hospitably.*

THE king of the Hungarians, Bela by name, came out with joy to meet the emperor. He was a man endowed by nature with many good qualities; tall in stature, of a noble countenance, possessing a combination of virtues, and worthy of the highest panegyric; who, if he had no other merit, would be thought worthy of sovereignty by his dignified appearance. He received Christ's army with hospitality, met them in a triumphant procession, and followed them with good will, testifying by his deeds the fervour of his friendship. The people in large numbers, burning with their sovereign's example, contemplate the sacred army and are eager to enlist; they look forwards to the prizes of the combat, and fear no dangers: at once they form the wish, they take the vow, and follow with the army, so that it is evident the workings of Holy Inspiration knew no impediment or delay. Crossing the Danube they reached the furthest passes of Bulgaria, where Huns, Alans, Bulgarians, and Pincenates rushed suddenly from their ambush upon the Lord's host, encouraged to the attack by the rugged and inaccessible nature of the ground.

CH. XXI.—*How Frederic, having crossed the Danube, found the Huns and Alans hostile to him.*

THE outlet from Bulgaria into Macedonia is fortified on both sides by high rocks, covered with thorns and bushes, through which wind narrow and rugged paths. To these the inhabitants have added lofty artificial defences. These passes were seized by the nations before mentioned,

who had been sent for this purpose by the wicked emperor Conrad, that they might destroy the army, or at least stop its further approach. Our soldiers, however, courageously overcame both the enemy and the road, and passing through Macedonia, arrived at Philippopolis, a city which had before been called Pulpudeba, but took the name of Philippopolis in honour of the Roman emperor Philip, who first of all the emperors became a Christian, and by the profession of the Christian faith conferred additional lustre upon the imperial dignity. The Greeks, hearing of the approach of the Latin army, deserted the city, fearing where there was no need of fear; for which their only reason was that they feared all whom they did not love: for the pilgrims had not come to plunder others, as they had sufficient of their own; nor had they taken arms against the faithful, but only to crush the errors of an infidel race. But the ancient and inexorable hatred which the Greeks entertained of old against the Latins, had been handed down by the tenacity of ages to their posterity. If a motive or reason of this enmity be sought—

“It were no wrong, if it a plea had found.”

Yet this may, perhaps, be urged as an excuse, that whereas the Latins were flourishing in arts and arms, they themselves were altogether ignorant and unwarlike: this gives a motive to their enmity, and they pine with jealousy at the prosperity of others. They are a perfidious race, a wicked generation, and utterly degenerate: the more illustrious they once were, the more signal is their degradation; their gold is converted into dross, their wheat into chaff, their purity to filth, their glory to corruption. The old Greeks attempted and achieved much, both in arts and arms; but all their zeal for virtue has chilled in their posterity and has passed over to the Latins, so that where once were fountains there now are rivulets, or rather, dry and exhausted channels. Their virtues have found no heirs, but their crimes many; they still retain the deceit of Sinon, the falseness of Ulysses, and the atrocity of Atræus. If I be asked concerning their military science, this turns on stratagems rather than on battles; if concerning their good faith, the man should beware who has them for his friends, though their hostility can do him no harm. That nation, unable to impede the march of our army at the aforesaid passes, did what lay

in their power to do it: all the natives fled to the mountain-tops and carried with them every comfort which we could have bought of them for money, leaving their empty houses without an article of furniture in them to our army that was approaching. The emperor indeed, on the plea of peace, had already sent forwards the bishop of Munster, with some other princes, to Constantinople; but the wicked and cruel tyrant cast them into prison, daring to violate the sanctity of an ambassador, which, even among barbarians, has been respected from all antiquity by the sanction of usage and the laws of honour. Afterwards, however, influenced more by fear than a regard for right, he released the ambassadors from prison; for he feared the destruction of his capital if he should not speedily pacify our wrath. It would have been right, indeed, that the city should have been razed, even to the ground; for, if we believe report, it was polluted by new mosques, which its perfidious emperor allowed to be built, that he might strengthen the league which he had entered into with the Turks. The season of the year was now ripening towards autumn, and the constellation *Libra* was balancing the day and night in nearly equal lengths. The magnificent emperor of the Romans marched to take up his winter-quarters at Adrianople, which he found empty and deserted by its inhabitants. Here he took up his position, and waited for the season when he should lead his army forwards.

CH. XXII.—*Of the emperor Frederic's wintering in Greece, and of the peace between him and the emperor Isaac: of the deceitful embassy sent to him by the sultan of Iconium, and of his passage through St. George's Arm.*

THE duke of Suabia, son of the emperor, fearing lest ease should produce luxury, and luxury generate indolence, determined to find employment for the army during the inactivity of winter; and for this purpose, he formed a plan to storm a fortress which was situated at no great distance from the aforesaid city. The Greeks had assembled together in it, trusting in its fortifications, that they might from thence direct their schemes against the Latins; but in this expectation they were confounded, for they were speedily defeated and vanquished, thrown into chains and kept prisoners.

When the Byzantine emperor heard of these things, he feared that something still worse would happen; and, apprehending the destruction of all his empire, he hastily sent ambassadors to our emperor, promising hostages for peace, a market for the sale of provisions, and ships to transport all who wished to cross. The emperor, although many of them thought it dangerous to make peace at all with a tyrant, yet preferred to accept the offered treaty rather than longer delay his expedition. And now that Easter was approaching, he crossed over the narrow sea, generally called by the name of "St. George's Arm." Although but a narrow strait, this sea enjoys no little reputation, because it washes so great a city, and flows between the two divisions of the world, Asia and Europe. The sultan of Iconium, a deceitful man, and thirsting after Christian blood, under a fraudulent pretext professed friendship towards us, and concealing the malignant venom of his heart, sought thereby to destroy us when off our guard. He had sent frequent messengers to the emperor, whilst still in Greece, entreating him to cross over; and whilst he accused the Greeks and their prince of treachery, he promised that he would be a devout and faithful servant to the Christians, and that he would place himself and all that he had at their disposal, and furnish to all of them a market to buy provisions, and a safe passage through his dominions. The emperor, too credulous, and estimating others by his own knowledge of himself, made a proclamation, in which he threatened all with punishment who, when they entered the territories of the Turks, should commit depredations, or fail to observe the peace which had been concluded. Thus then it happened, that our men passed on without touching the great booty which the sultan had, intentionally, left at the very entrance of his dominions. Alas, how blind are men and ignorant of the future! If they could have foreseen the famine which they were about to suffer, the difficulties of the road, and the deceitfulness of the tyrant! Chance had thrown in their way the means of providing for themselves against these great and imminent dangers. However, our people did not so far listen to the words of that faithless prince, as, neglecting their own security, to march in disorder, or without their arms. When, therefore, they were about to enter Parthia, all of them seized their arms, in number 3,000 knights; of the rest there were about 80,000. There were seven

bishops, one archbishop, two dukes, nineteen counts, and three marquises; and this splendid army seemed neither to have had its like before or after. But to prevent disaffection or confusion in so large a mass, the whole army was divided into three bodies: the first was led by the duke of Suabia, the last by the emperor, that in the centre was charged with the care of the sumpter-horses and baggage. The army advanced judiciously arranged, to the delight of the beholder, neither crowded together, nor yet dispersedly, but in bodies; and though there were many officers over each body, yet there was but one commander-in-chief. This is the best for a camp, an important circumstance in war: for as an army perishes without a leader, where no one is pre-eminent above the rest, so it is generally inefficient, where there are many leaders who contend for pre-eminence. Happy empire! happy Germany! the parent of so many nations, so many brave warriors of Christ, a source of pride to herself, and destruction to her enemies!

CH. XXIII.—*Of the discomforts which the Christians endured through the sultan, and how they reached Iconium.*

OUR army, having entered the territories of the Turks, experienced no hostility during several days: the sultan wished by his forbearance to allure them into the heart of his dominions, until want of food and the asperities of the road should give him more ready means of annoying them. That nefarious traitor had seized the rugged mountain-tops, the thickets of the woods, and the impassable rivers; and whilst he professed to observe the treaty which he had made, he opposed arrows and stones to our passage. This was the market and the safe-conduct which he had promised us; such is the faith that must be placed in the unbelievers; they always esteem valour and treachery as equally praiseworthy towards an enemy. Moreover, they avoid, above all things, coming to close quarters and fighting hand to hand; but they shower their arrows from a distance; and with them it is no less glory to flee, than to put their enemy to flight. They attack both extremities of the army, at one time the rear, at another time the van; that, if by any chance they can separate them, they may attack either the one or the other by itself. Night brought with it neither sleep nor rest; for a terrific clamour disturbed the army on every side. A shower

of javelins pierced through their tents, numbers of them were slain asleep, and the enemy hung on them so incessantly, that for six weeks, they ate their meals under arms, and slept under arms, without taking off their coats of mail. At the same time they were assailed by such violent hunger and thirst, that when they lost their horses by the chances of war, it was to them a consolation and source of delight, to feed on horse-flesh and drink the blood : in this manner, by the ingenuity which necessity teaches, they found out an additional use for the animals on which they rode.

There was a place between high rocks which was rendered so difficult to pass by reason of the steep ascent and the narrowness of the paths, that when the first division of the army, led by the emperor's son, had passed through, the Turks suddenly rushed from their ambush on the last division, and in their confidence of victory, attacked them with lance and sword. The alarming news was carried to the duke, who returned with headlong haste upon his march, eagerly retracing all the difficulties which he had a little before rejoiced at having surmounted. His rage heeded not danger ; his cavalry were made to gallop where they could not even walk. In this manner, whilst he was anxiously and incautiously seeking for his father on every side, and incessantly shouting his father's name, his helmet was struck off by a stone, and his teeth knocked out, yet he still remained immovable and unshaken. Happy the son, who, to save his father, was so prodigal of his own life, and exposed himself to so many dangers ! As a consolation for the wound which he then received, he retains a lasting mark of it ; for whenever he opens his mouth, the bare gum testifies the glory of his victory. At last, after many severe attacks, the army arrives at Iconium, where that wicked traitor had shut himself within the walls of the city : our soldiers pitched their tents at no great distance, uncertain what new disaster the morrow might bring with it. It was now about the end of Whitsuntide, and that same night so violent and sudden a storm burst upon them, that its fury was felt even within the camp. In the morning, when the clouds were dispersed, the sky became clear, and behold ! the Turkish army appear around on every side with trumpets, drums, and horrid clang, ready to attack. They had never before been seen in such multitudes, nor could they have been con-

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ceived to have been so numerous. If any one should read that there were three hundred thousand or more of them, it was only an estimate of the amount, for it was impossible to number them. All this multitude had been roused to arms by the sultan's son Melkin, who wished to anticipate his father-in-law Saladin's victory, and, trusting in the number and valour of his men, was confident of success. Meanwhile the sultan had ascended a lofty tower, where he sat in expectation, eyeing the country beneath him and the armies that were ready to engage, and hoping in a short time to see accomplished what his sanguine mind had promised. The emperor, seeing some of his men alarmed at the unusual multitude of the enemy, displayed the confidence of a noble chieftain, and raising his hands to heaven, gave thanks to God in the sight of all, that the inevitable necessity was at length arrived for that combat which had so long been deferred by the flight of the enemy. At these words, all were inspired with fresh ardour, as they looked on the emperor's placid countenance; and one old man, weak though he was, supplied an incentive of valour to many who were young and strong. What God is so great as our God? All that multitude who were so sure of victory that they brought chains with them rather than swords, were overthrown in a moment: and at once the city was taken and occupied, and the enemy without vanquished; everywhere were blood and death, and heaps of slain. Their number impedes their flight, and they fall by those very means on which they had counted for triumph. The battle is now fought hand to hand; the bows are snapped asunder; the arrows no longer fly, and they have scarcely room to wield their swords. Thus everything is thrown into confusion by the multitude, and what our enemies intended for our ruin, turns out to our greater glory; the flying war, which had been waged among brambles and the gorges of rocks, is now carried on in a fair and open field; the Christians satiate their fury, which had so often been put forth in vain. The Turks experience, against their will, how well their enemies can fight hand to hand whom they had so often provoked at a distance.

This splendid victory was not granted unworthily by the Divine excellence to His faithful servants: for they observed chastity in the camp, and discipline when under arms: in all, and above all, was the fear of the Lord; with all was the love

of their neighbour ; all were united in brotherly affection, as they were also companions in danger. The sultan, when the city was taken, seeing that there remained to him only the tower in which he was, sent hastily to the emperor, throwing all the blame upon his son, and professing his own innocence ; promising, moreover, as much gold as he should demand, and whatsoever persons he should name as hostages for his observance of the treaty. The emperor, alas ! too easy, accepted what was offered and gave what was asked : in this less worthy of praise, because he let go that man of blood and treachery whom he had almost in his possession, when it would have been more honourable to slay him than to keep alive so great an enemy to the Christian name. The hostages were given and the treaty confirmed ; but the wickedness of that malignant traitor did not rest there ; for, whilst the Christians were continuing their march far beyond Iconium, he attacked them, sometimes by ambuscade, sometimes openly in the field. The hostages were asked what this meant, and they told a falsehood which suited their own purpose : they said that the Turks were a wild race whom no one could govern ; that they wandered about with no fixed habitation, having no property of their own, and always trying to obtain that of others either by robbery or theft. They attacked us however less boldly, knowing that many of their men had fallen ; for, by a moderate computation, 22,000 of the Turks had been slain in former conflicts.

CH. XXIV.—*How the Emperor Frederic, arriving in Armenia, is drowned in the river Selesius, and his son, the duke of Suabia, takes the command of the army.*

THE victorious army now enters the Armenian territories : all rejoice at having quitted a hostile kingdom, and at their arrival in the country of the faithful. But, alas ! a more fatal land awaits them, which is to extinguish the light and joy of all. Let man take thought and investigate, if he may, the counsels of the Lord, whose judgments are unfathomable. Things will occur sometimes to cause him astonishment, sometimes confusion, yet so that in every circumstance man may recognize the author of all things. On the borders of Armenia there was a place, surrounded on one side by steep mountains, on the other side by the river Selesius. Whilst the sumpter-

horses and baggage were passing this river, the victorious emperor halted. He was indeed an illustrious man, of stature moderately tall, with red hair and beard; his head was partly turning grey, his eyelids were prominent and his eyes sparkling; his cheeks short and wide; his breast and shoulders broad: in all other respects his form was manly. There was in him, as is read of Socrates, something distinguished and awful; for his look denoted the firmness of his mind, being always immoveably the same, neither clouded by grief, nor contracted by anger, nor relaxed by joy. He so much revered the native language of Germany, that although he was not ignorant of other languages, yet he always conversed with ambassadors from foreign countries by means of an interpreter. This great man, having halted some time, in consequence of the sumpter-horses crossing the river, became at last impatient of the delay; and wishing to accelerate the march, he prepared to cross the nearest part of the stream, so as to get in front of the sumpter-horses and be at liberty to proceed. O sea! O earth! O heaven! the ruler of the Roman empire, ever august, in whom the glory of ancient Rome again flourished, its honour again lived, and its power was augmented, was overwhelmed in the waters and perished! and though those who were near him hastened to his assistance, yet his aged spark of life was extinguished by a sudden though not premature death. If love of swimming, as several have asserted, be said to have caused his death; yet the gravity of the man argues the contrary; nor does it merit belief that, a bad swimmer, he would have committed to the deceitful waters the safety of so many. The conscience is witness that death is less painful than the cause of death, but this is our consolation as it is written: the just, by whatever death he shall be surprised, will be refreshed. If the mountains of Gilboa, where the brave ones of Israel were slain, deserved to be deprived of the dew and rain, what imprecations may we not deservedly utter upon this fatal river, which overthrew a main pillar of all Christendom? There were some who said that the place had been marked by a fatality from ancient times, and that the nearest rock had long borne upon it these words inscribed, "Here the greatest of men shall perish." The lamentable report of his death was spread around and filled all with dismay. If we search all the annals of antiquity, the traditions of history, and the fictions of romance, concerning the

sorrows of mothers, the sighs of brides, or the distresses of men in general, the present grief will be found to be without example, never before known in any age, and surpassing all tears and lamentations. There were many of the emperor's domestics present, with some of his kinsmen and his son; but it was impossible to distinguish them amid the general lamentation, with which all and each lamented the loss of their father and their lord. This, however, was a consolation to all, and they all returned thanks for it to Divine Providence, that he had not died within the territories of the infidels.

When his funeral-rites were performed, they left the fatal spot as soon as possible, bearing with them the body of the emperor adorned with royal magnificence, that it might be carried to Antioch. There the flesh, being boiled from the bones, reposes in the church of the Apostolic see, and the bones were conveyed by sea to Tyre, thence to be transported to Jerusalem. It was fit indeed and wonderfully contrived by God's providence, that one who had contended gloriously for Christ, should repose in the two principal churches of the Christian religion, for both of which he had been a champion,—part of him in the one, and part in the other,—the one that which our Lord's burial rendered the most distinguished, the other that which was honoured by being the see of the chief of the apostles. The Christians arriving at Antioch, after many and long fastings, gave way too plentifully to their appetites, and died of sudden repletion: and so, after they had resisted both famine and the swords of their enemies, repose was fatal to them, and a pernicious abundance cut them off. In this shameful manner, then, the greater part of that great army perished, and most of the survivors returned to their own countries: a small body of them, ashamed to return, served under the emperor's son, to whom the prince of Antioch surrendered his city with all its defences. For on the plea of greater protection, he offered of his own accord to commit his city to the duke, that this brave man might defend his territories against the frequent assaults of the enemies.

CH. XXV.—*Acre is besieged. King Guy is freed from his oath.*

In the mean time Christ's soldiers, who had been conveyed by sea to the succour of the Holy Land, were laying siege to Acre. That the order of the siege may be better understood, we will relate it from the beginning. Guy, king of Jerusa-

lem, after he had been a year in captivity at Damascus, was released by Saladin on the strict promise that he should abjure his kingdom, and, as soon as possible, go into exile beyond the sea. The clergy of the kingdom determine to release the king from the bond of his oath; both because what is done under compulsion deserves to be annulled, and because the bands of the faithful who were on their way would find in him a head and leader. It was right indeed that art should overreach art, and that the treachery of the tyrant should be deceived by its own example; for one who is faithless in his promises, gives encouragement to similar faithlessness in him whose promise he exacts. The faithless unbeliever, having broken his previous agreement, had extorted from the captive king, after many injuries, an oath that on being restored to liberty he would go into exile. A sad condition this, of liberty accompanied with exile and the renunciation of a kingdom. But God so ordered it that the counsel of Belial was brought to naught; for the tyrant was baffled in his hopes of retaining the kingdom, and the king was released by the sentence of the clergy from the enormity of his promise. Men also had arrived, who would nobly vindicate the wrongs which had been done to Christ's cross, distinguished champions, whose devout zeal had stirred them up to bring consolation to thee, O Jerusalem! Behold, the whole world is in arms for thy service, and the word is fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Isaiah: "I will bring thy seed from the north, and from the west I will gather thee together: I will say to the north, Give! and to the south, Do not forbid." Thus, then, when numbers had flocked together to meet the king at Tripoli, the minds of all were inspired with bravery, so that they strove not only to keep what they had retained, but also to recover what they had lost. Moreover, whilst they were remaining at Tripoli, they did not pass the time in idleness; for they assailed the enemies in that neighbourhood, and defeated at one time three hundred, at another time a larger number, with their victorious band. Among the rest was the king's brother who had lately landed: his name was Geoffrey, and he distinguished himself especially amongst the combatants by his valour, for, in addition to the common cause, which influenced all alike, he was roused to action by his own private wrongs, and the injury which had been done to his brother.

CR. XXVI.—*How the king, arriving at Tyre, is not received by the marquis, but dissembling the insult, proceeds with the men of Pisa, and a small army to Acre, which the Christians besiege by sea and land.*

AFTER a while the king assembled his army and proceeded to Tyre; but, demanding admittance, was refused by the marquis, though the city had been committed to his custody on the condition that it should be restored to the king and the heirs of the kingdom. Not content with this injury, he adds insult to breach of faith, for whenever the king's messenger, or any pilgrims, endeavoured to enter the town, they were treated harshly, and were in his sight no better than Gentiles and Publicans. But the Pisans, who possessed no small part of the city, would not be induced to consent to his perfidy, but with commendable rebellion stood up for the king's rights. The marquis directed not only insults, but civil war against them, and they, prudently withdrawing for a time, retired with others from the city to the army. The troops had pitched their camp in an open plain; but none of them were allowed to enter the city, even to buy provisions; and they all found an enemy where they had hoped to find an ally. Whilst these events were going on, the marquis was afflicted by a complaint to which he had long been subject; but, as it chanced to assail him this time with greater violence than usual, he conjectured that he had taken poison. Upon this, he issued a harsh edict against physicians who make potions; innocent men were put to death on false suspicions, and those whose province it was to heal others, now found the practice of their art lead to their own destruction. The king was urged by many to attack the city, but he prudently dissembled his own wrong, and hastily marched, with all the army he could collect, to besiege the town of Acre. There were seven hundred knights, and others more numerous still, collected out of all Christendom; but if we were to estimate the whole army, its strength did not amount altogether to nine thousand men. At the end of August, on St. Augustin's day,* two years after the city had been taken, they bravely commenced that long and difficult siege which was protracted during two years longer before the city surrendered. The Turks from the battlements of the walls, beheld the army

* Aug. 28. 1189.

approach, but without knowing who they were, or for what they came. When they learnt the truth, they feared not their approach, and treated their intentions with derision. The men of Pisa, who chose to proceed by sea, as shorter and easier, approached Acre in due order in their ships, and bravely occupied the shore; where they had no sooner secured a station, than they formed the siege on the side towards the sea with equal courage and perseverance. The king, with the rest of his army, fixed his tents on a neighbouring hill commonly called Mount Turon, from which, by the eminence of the ground, he overlooked the approach both by sea and land. This hill was higher on the eastern side of the city; and, as it allowed the eye to rove freely round, it gave a prospect over the plain on all sides, far and wide.

CH. XXVII.—*The Christians assault the city, but are attacked by Saladin in the rear, and whilst they are thus between two enemies, they are encouraged by receiving a reinforcement of 12,000 northern warriors.*

ON the third day after their arrival the Christians made an assault upon the town; and deeming it tedious to await the effect of engines for throwing stones, together with other machines, they trusted to the defence of their shields alone, and carried scaling-ladders to mount the walls. That day would have put a happy termination to the toil of so many days, if the malice of the ancient enemy, and the arrival of false information, had not frustrated their achievement when it was almost completed; for it was reported that Saladin was at hand, and our men returned with speed to the camp; but when they perceived that it was only a small body that had come in advance, they expressed indignation rather than complaint that the victory had been snatched from them. They were indeed few that had come, but fear had reported that an innumerable multitude was at hand: for it is not unusual, that things should be magnified through terror.

The sultan, at this time, was besieging the castle of Bel-fort; and when he heard what was going on, he marched in haste with a large army to Acre. Our men, unequal to cope with him, kept themselves within the limits before described. The Turks assailed them perseveringly, both morning and evening, trying every means to penetrate to the hill-top; and

thus, those who came to besiege others, were now besieged themselves. In this position, then, were our men, when the Morning Star visited them from on high ; for behold ! fifty ships, such as are commonly called coggs, having twelve thousand armed men, on board, are seen approaching,—a grateful sight to our men, on account of the strait which they were in. Grateful is that which comes when prayed for ; more grateful still is that which comes contrary to our hope ; but grateful beyond all is that which comes to aid us in the last necessity : yet oftentimes we suspend our belief concerning a thing we so much long for, and cannot credit what we too much desire. Our army, from the top of the hill, see the reinforcements coming, and dare not hope for an event so joyful ; and the new comers, also, look upon the camp as an object of suspicion. When, however, they came nearer and saw the ensigns of the Christian faith, a shout is raised on both sides,—their joyful feelings find vent in tears : they eagerly flock together and leap into the waves to go and meet them. O happy fleet, which, sailing from the Northern Ocean, and encountering a voyage never before tried, passed over so many seas, so many coasts, so many dangers, and came from Europe, along the shores of Africa, to succour Asia in her distress. The crews of these ships were Danes and Frisons, men inured to labour by the rigours of the north, and having three qualities good in war—large limbs, invincible minds, and devout fervour for the faith. They had sailed from their country, and the kindly breeze had wafted them on : the waves, as well as winds, were benignant, such as give delight to sailors, and so the merciful Lord brought his champions safe and uninjured through so many dangers. But the inhabitants of the lands by which these vessels sailed, were excited when they saw the fleet, and, embarking on ship-board, both Englishmen and Flemings followed them in haste. Nor must I pass in silence a gallant action which was performed by them as they passed : they courageously attacked a city called Silvia, on the sea-coast of Spain, and having quickly made themselves masters of it, and slain the Gentile inhabitants, they delivered the city up to the Christians, appointed there a bishop, and proceeded victorious on their voyage. To Acre, then, they came ; and having pitched their camp between the city and Mount Turon, they turned their invincible prowess

to the destruction of the enemy, whom they assailed, not by frequent skirmishes, but by one continued conflict;—for their prodigal valour and reckless fury exposed them to so many dangers that afterwards, when the city was taken, hardly a hundred men remained alive out of the twelve thousand.

CH. XXVIII.—*Of the arrival of James d'Avennes : the siege of the city is pressed with greater vigour : the fiction of Saladin.*

THE night after the landing of the Frisons and Danes, James d'Avennes reached the desired shore, a man endowed with threefold qualifications,—in counsel a Hector, in arms an Achilles, and in honour surpassing Regulus. He pitched his camp opposite the tower they call the Cursed (*Maledicta*), and a little further on lay the Templars; still the greater part of the city was not besieged, but there was a free communication open to the enemy. Our men, anxious as to their movements, liked not this freedom of entrance and exit; but the extended circuit of the walls and the paucity of soldiers allowed not of a continued blockade. They therefore divided their forces into troops, and by turns watched the approaches of the city in arms; and thus, for some days, obstructed the passage of those who would go out. The Turks, however, issuing from city and camp, and having collected their strength from all quarters, attacked our men and prevailed; for a divided line of battle is easily broken through, and scattered strength quickly yieldeth. On that day the Hospitallers were on guard, and on giving way, were relieved by the Templars, who checked the enemy, and hindered them, though pressed severely, from bursting into the camp. Moreover, day by day the army of the faithful increased; and a multitude of ships coming together, struck no small terror into the Mahometan army. But Saladin, by means of a fiction, lessened the fears thus excited, asserting that the Christians took away their ships by night, and brought them back again at dawn of day as if they were newly arrived, for the purpose of making a display of strength. He himself was not, however, ignorant of the real state of the case, and grieved bitterly at our daily increase of strength; but, dissembling the cloud on his mind under a haughty aspect, he exhibited a calm and fearless countenance.

CH. XXIX.—*Of the arrival of the French, English, and Germans.*

VERY many indeed had already come from the kingdom of France; and amongst others the bishop of Beauvais, a man more devoted to the camp than the closet, and one who gloried in warfare and strove to be like Turpin if he could but find a Charles. There is a part of France called Champagne; and though the whole country is famous for the pursuit of arms, this one, by a sort of privilege of chivalry, excels and surpasses the rest. Hence its warlike youth marching out in power displayed the strength which it had exercised in the gymnasium with greater boldness against the foe; and having laid aside the playful game of battle, they turned their bellicose spirits to the realities of war. So, indeed, English as well as French are led on by the warmth of their devotion, so that not waiting for their own kings they march forward to perform their duty to the King of kings. From Germany, also, there came an illustrious and powerful man, whom in their language they call Landgrave;* which, according to the sense of the word, appears to mean count of the land, as if so entitled *par excellence*. He persuaded the marquis, who had a difference with King Guy, to repair to Acre, though at first he had declined to do so on account of the disagreement. We know that the rules of history sometimes require us to commit to writing, seriatim, the names of the chiefs who assist in the management of affairs, to which, indeed, they themselves, in a sort of itch for glory, sometimes lay claim; whilst, on the other hand, the fastidious reader may think the work too long in this particular, and so reject a narrative which runs to wearisomeness. We therefore will be as brief as possible in enumerating the chiefs. But when the course of affairs shall offer an opportunity, we will mention the illustrious actions of each. After the numbers of the faithful were considerably increased, and when the army was fitter for setting about its arduous undertaking, it was unanimously determined to attack the neighbouring camp of the unbelievers. A certain mount stood opposite to Mount Turon, which we have before described; here the enemy had pitched their pavilions, and a large intervening space of plain presented far and wide an area well adapted for battle. Hither the army

* This was Lewis III., landgrave of Thuringia, who had accompanied or followed the emperor to the crusade.

descended from the camp to the plain; and there being put in array, were divided into troops, so that the light-armed soldiers with the bowmen and arbalesters went first; next to them followed the body of the army, glittering with horses, arms, and the various insignia of war. Their countenance and bearing indicated the disposition of their minds; the faithful had recourse to prayer, whilst the enemy trembled. There were those who, abandoning themselves to excessive exultation at the sight of the battle-array, presumed to say,—“What power shall prevail, what multitude shall withstand us? Let the Lord assist neither us nor our adversaries; the victory rests in our own valour.” Certainly a most impious and utterly detestable sentiment, for it placed the issue of the battle in man and not in the Deity, when man can do nothing without God; which, indeed, the issue of affairs proved by sad experience.

The Turks stood resolute for the defence of their camp; but when our men approached nearer, they opened the body of their infantry who stood first, and boldly charged the enemy with their horse. The unbelievers were put to flight, and abandoned their camp; the Christians desisted from the pursuit, and were eager after the spoil; the cords of the pavilions were cut, and the tent of the sultan himself was seized upon by the fiery Count de Bar. Meanwhile, an immense multitude of the enemy burst out from the city, and marching from that part which was not besieged, proceeded towards the mountain by a circuitous path. Indeed, they purposely marched by a tortuous circuit, that while our men were in doubt whether they meant to attack the camp or the army, they might fall suddenly upon the latter, and close them in from the rear. The Templars, inferior to none in renown, devoted to slaughter, had by this time burst through the enemies' squares, and, if the remainder of the army had pressed on in pursuit, they would that day have been the fortunate conquerors as well of the city as of the battle; but when the Templars in their ardour had advanced too far in following up their fortune, they were suddenly attacked by the townsmen; and although multitudes overcame them, it was not without great slaughter of their own men that the enemy triumphed. There Gerard de Riddeford the master of the Templars, of whom we have made mention before, was slain; happy he on whom the Lord conferred so great glory, that he should gain the laurel which he had earned in so many wars, and be admitted

into the fellowship of martyrs. In another part, while the Germans were too eagerly bent upon plunder, the old deceiver offered to their view a horse escaping; and seeing them pursue him in a crowd, the rest supposed that they were running away. By this slight but fatal accident the whole army was thrown into a panic, and all turned their thoughts to flight. At the same time, a new rumour increased their fear: for there was a cry that the townsmen had gone forth to plunder the baggage. The army was at once thrown into confusion; the battalions dispersed, and abandoned their standards; even the commanders fly headlong, and scarce any have courage to resist.

CH. XXX.—*The flight and slaughter of the Christians.*

THE Turks, on seeing the confusion of the Christians, wondered at the circumstance, but were ignorant of the cause; and having regained the victory unexpectedly, they turned their horses and resumed the courage which they had more from use than nature, yielding to those who pressed, and pressing on those who yielded; for they will fly from those who attack, and pursue those who fly. In this lamentable and disastrous tumult, Andrew de Brienne, while calling upon his comrades to resume the battle, was slain by the Turks who were pursuing; this man was so superior to all the other Frenchmen, that they awarded him the crown of chivalry, while others were content to strive for the honour of being second to him. His brother, the Count de Brienne, though he had seen him fall, passed him as he lay on the ground, and though called upon, feared to stop, and, like a coward, left him to his fate. Different from this was the conduct of a soldier, who, seeing James d'Avennes thrown from his horse, gave him the one on which he was escaping, and nobly by his own death saved the life of his lord. King Guy, also, was on the point of being slain by the foe, had not the marquis come to his assistance, who forgot the wrongs he had received from him, to discharge the duties of humanity, though to one undeserving of it, and rescued him from destruction. Geoffrey, the king's brother, seeing the army in confusion, and all hastening to fly, at last abandoned the care of the camp which he had undertaken to defend; and, anxious for his brother's safety, rushed forward to arrest the fugitives. O miserable change of affairs! the Christians had gone forth with confidence—they

return in confusion ; they had marched in order—they return in disorder ; victorious, they had routed the foe—yet they run back vanquished. Man's presumption at length acknowledged what man and what man's strength can effect, if it rely not on the Lord's right hand ; for he powerfully works victory amongst his own people, who gives confidence to the warrior, and a crown to the victor. Our men had presumed on their own strength, they believed no enemy could be found who could put them in fear, and yet they found that enemy too near them, for they lost one thousand five hundred men. There was a knight named Ferrand, who having been left behind naked and nearly lifeless, after lying hid amongst the slain, returned by night to the camp, but was so disfigured by his wounds, that he could not be recognized by his friends, and with difficulty gained admission. The license of the poet or a lengthy dissertation might depict the various incidents of the battle and the divers modes of death ; but we are obliged to be brief, and must say, not *how*, but *what* occurred. Saladin ordered the bodies of the Christians to be collected and cast into the river which flowed near ; that, being carried down by the current, the sight of them might occasion terror, or becoming decomposed they might infect the water.

CH. XXXI.—*How our men, increasing in number daily, suffer severely from the Turks while occupied in carrying a trench round the city.*

AFTER this, our chiefs, thinking it best to abstain for the present from open war, occupy themselves in strengthening their camp, and carry round an embankment of turf, with deep ditches from sea to sea, for the protection of the tents ; while the marquis and the Hospitallers boldly seized upon the space free from siege, and thus the city was blockaded by sea and by land. While our men were thus sedulously employed in making the trenches, the Turks harassed them incessantly, and one party relieving another continued to annoy them from morn till night. It was necessary, thus, that one part of our men should defend the other while at work from their attacks. Such as we thought worth while to bear with, we did, without returning them, although the air was darkened with their missiles and darts, which exceeded all computation. Our men, however, worked away with their utmost endeavour and the Turks lamented their progress. You

might see in their frequent encounters, now these now those (according to the chances of war) overthrown and borne down. While our men were thus for a considerable time struggling, the Lord above grieved over them, and by strengthening and increasing our numbers from day to day, deserted not altogether those who trusted in him. There came together, therefore, from different parts of the world, princes, dukes, counts, besides many of inferior degree; whose names were the Count of Ferrara, Nargenot du Bourg, Anselm de Montreal, Geoffrey de Grenville, Otho de la Fosse, William Goetz, the Viscount de Chatellerauld, the Viscount de Turome, the Chastellan of Bruges, the Archbishop of Pisa, also the Count Bertulf, the Count Nicholas of Hungary, the Count Bernard, the Count Jocelyn, the Count Richard of Apulia, the Count Alebrand, Engelran de Vienne, Hervey de Gien, Theobald de Bar, the Count John of Loegria, another Count John of Seis, with a nephew of the king of Denmark. There came also some chiefs of the Danes, with 400 of their countrymen. At the same time came Guy de Dampierre, the bishop of Verona, and a few Roman citizens. All these, and a great many future martyrs and confessors, were added to the number of the faithful. Martyrs truly they were, a great part of whom died in a short time by the stench of the dead bodies which corrupted the air, and by the fatigue of constant watchings; while others were overcome by the injuries they received, as neither rest nor breathing time was allowed them, for the Turks harassed without intermission those who were working at the ditch, and reduced their spirits by unexpected attacks, until it was at length completed. They then made an attempt to relieve the city from the threatened blockade.

CH. XXXII.—*The description of the city of Acre and the places round about it.*

WE do not think it foreign to our purpose to give at times, as the order of our matter requires, the description of places, in order that a city, so famous for its magnificence, as well as the various incidents of war, may gain additional celebrity by our labours. For if a ten years' war made Troy celebrated; if the triumph of the Christians made Antioch more illustrious, Acre will certainly obtain eternal fame, as a city for which the whole world contended. In the form of a

triangle, it is narrow on the western side, while it extends in a wider range towards the east, and full a third part of it is washed by the ocean on the south and west. The port, which is not so convenient as it should be, often deceives and proves fatal to the vessels which winter there: for the rock which lies over against the shore, to which it runs parallel, is too short to protect them from the fury of the storm. And because this rock appeared a suitable place for washing away the entrails, the ancients used it as a place for offering up sacrifices, and on account of the flies which followed the sacrificial flesh, the tower which stands above it was called the Tower of Flies. There is also a tower called the Cursed, situated on the wall which surrounds the city; and if we are to credit common report, it received its name because it is said that the pieces of silver for which Judas betrayed his Lord, were made there. The city, then named Ptolemais, was formerly situate upon Mount Turon, which is close to the city, whence, by an error of antiquity, some call Acre Ptolemais. There is a hill called the Mosque, near Mount Turon, where the ancients say is the sepulchre of Memnon; but by whose kind offices he was brought thither, we have learnt neither by writing nor by hearsay. The river which flows by the city is named Belus, and although its bed is narrow, and not deep, Solinus has rendered it celebrated by numbering it amongst the wonders of the world, as being enriched with glassy sand. For there was a certain sandy foss, the sand of which supplied materials for making glass; these, if taken out, were altogether useless; but, if let in, from the secret virtue of the place assumed a glassy nature. Not far from the river is pointed out a low rock near the city, at which it is said that the three divisions of the world, Asia, Europe, and Africa meet; and though it contains separately the other parts of the world, the place itself, dependent on none, is distinct from and independent of all three. Mount Carmel rises aloft on the southern side of the city, where Elijah the Tishbite is known to have had an habitation of modest cost, as his cave still testifies; but although we are often wont in a description to wander away to the pleasant parts of the circuit, we must at present overlook the attractions of the surrounding places, while we turn our attention to the course of the war.

CH. XXXIII.—*How the people of the city were reduced to such starvation that they offered to surrender; the Sultan comes to their assistance with fifty galleys; they capture and put to flight our galleys.*

WHEN therefore our men had encompassed Acre on all sides with a blockade, the townspeople, having consumed their provisions, began to be severely pressed by famine, so that they offered to surrender the city on condition that they should be allowed to depart, with their property, unmolested. These conditions did not satisfy the chiefs, who had determined, either to compel them by extreme necessity to submit to their will, or to gain, by every means in their power, the glory of storming the city. But whilst they were slowly negotiating for the surrender of the city, the sultan had fully equipped at Alexandria fifty galleys, with men, provisions, and arms, which he sent to succour Acre. These arrived on All Saints' Eve, and when they were seen at a distance, vague rumours distracted the people with various forebodings. Some report that the enemy are at hand; others that subsidies are come for the Christians. While they were still doubting, the enemy threw themselves into the city, and even carried with them, by force, one of our ships laden with provisions, which they found in the port; and being long sustained with those provisions, pressed upon us with the greater courage. Not content with plundering our ship of burden, they put to death without mercy the crew and every one else they had found therein, and hung them round the walls on the day of All Saints. Moreover, the galleys of the enemy kept watch over both the exit and entrance of the port of the city, that no one dared to come to our assistance for fear of falling into their hands. And on the morrow of the Nativity of our Lord, one of our galleys deeming the fleet an arrival of Christians, went for the purpose of making inquiries after our succours, incautiously to meet this Babylonian fleet as it approached, and with it a smaller vessel, called a galleon; this taking the lead, owing to its lightness, fell suddenly into the midst of the enemy, instead of meeting with friends as was supposed. The voice of some who answered, and the suspicious silence of others, undeceived them; upon which the terrified sailors cast themselves into the sea, and

escaped, by means of swimming, according as each was able. Thus then occupying that part of the sea, and our galleys which were by far the least numerous, having gone away secretly to Tyre, the enemy had free and open communication with the city by sea. At that time the Germans, making a large mill for the grinding of corn, turned by horses, while the millstones grated as they were drawn round, the Turks, gazing with great earnestness at the mill at work, thought that it was some instrument for their destruction, or for storming their city; for never before had a mill of that description been seen in that land.

CH. XXXIV.—*Of the sea-fight between the fleet of the marquis and our men and that of the enemy, and how we gained the victory.*

AT a season of calm, when Easter was close at hand, the marquis at our request returned from Tyre with a large equipment and supplies of men, arms, and provisions. For by the provident care of the chiefs, the king and marquis were pacified on the pretext that the marquis should have possession of Tyre, Berytus, and Sidon, and on condition that he should be faithful and strenuous for the interests of the king and his kingdom. But rash ambition always turns to evil the avaricious and iniquitous heart; for inflamed with the desire of obtaining the kingdom, he broke the faith he had pledged; and while to the outward eye he appeared a friend, within his breast he concealed the foe. At length the townspeople liked not their privation of liberty, and determined to try the issue of a sea-fight. They therefore led forth their galleys by twos, and keeping good order, they rowed into the offing to meet and attack those that were coming; our men prepared to meet them as they came on, and since there was no means of getting away, prepared to face them with greater resolution. [On the other hand our men got on board our war ships, and straining to the left by an oblique course, retreated to a distance, and gave the enemy free means of egress.] And now that mention is made of a sea-fight, we judge it right to describe briefly the fleet, and what difference there is between those of the moderns and ancients. With the ancients, a larger number of oars was required in ships of this kind, which were arranged in stories, so that some plied the oars

at a longer, others at a shorter distance from the sea. These vessels had frequently three or four banks of oars each, some even five; and a few of the ships used at the battle of Actium between Antony and Augustus, are said to have had six. Furthermore, ships of war were called *liburnæ*; for the ships used in the battle of Actium were chiefly built at Liburnia in Dalmatia; whence it became usual among the ancients to call them *liburnæ*. But all that ancient magnificence has passed away; for ships of war, which once had six banks of oars, have now seldom more than two. But what the ancients used to call a *liburna*, we call a *galea*, with the middle syllable lengthened; it is long and graceful, not high out of water, and has a piece of wood at the prow, which is commonly called the spur; with which the enemy's ships are struck and pierced. Galleons are vessels with one bank of oars, manageable from their shortness, easily turned, and light for running to and fro; they are better suited for throwing fire. When, therefore, they went forth on both sides to fight, our men drew not up their ships in a straight line, but in the form of a crescent; that if the enemy should charge the inner ships, he might be shut in and crushed. They placed their most powerful ships at the points of the crescent, as against them would be directed the enemy's most vigorous attack; on the upper row of benches were arranged shields close together; and in one the rowers sat, in order that those who were on deck might have free space for fighting. The sea was perfectly calm and tranquil, as if it favoured the battle, and the rippling wave impeded neither the shock of the attacking ship, nor the stroke of the oars. As they closed, the trumpets sounded on both sides. A terrific clang is roused, and the battle is commenced by the throwing of missiles. Our men implore the Divine assistance, and ply their oars strenuously, and dash at the enemy's ships with their beaks. Soon the battle began; the oars become entangled and they fight hand to hand, having grappled each other's ships together; and they fire the decks with burning oil, which is vulgarly called Greek fire. That kind of fire with a detestable stench and livid flames consumes both flint and steel; it cannot be extinguished by water, but is subdued by the sprinkling of sand, and put out by pouring vinegar on it. But what can be more dreadful than a fight at sea? what more savage, where such

various fates await the combatants? Some are tortured by the burning of the flames; some falling overboard are swallowed in the waves; others wounded perish by the enemy's weapons. One galley, unskilfully managed by our men, exposed its flank to the foe; and being set on fire, received the Turks as they boarded her on all sides. The rowers in their fright fall into the sea; but a few soldiers, impeded by their heavy armour, and restrained by ignorance of swimming, took courage from desperation, and commenced an unequal fight; and trusting in the Lord's valour, a few of them overcame numbers; and having slain the foe, they brought back the half-burnt vessel in triumph. Another ship was boarded by the enemy, who had driven the combatants from the upper deck; while those who were below strove to escape by the help of their oars. Wondrous and terrible was the conflict; for the oars being pulled different ways, the galley was drawn first one way, then the other, as the Turks drove it; yet our men prevailed, and the enemy, who rowed on the upper deck, being overcome and thrust down by the Christians, yielded. In this naval contest, the enemy lost both the galley and a galleon, together with their crews; and our men, unhurt and joyful, gain a glorious triumph. Having drawn the captured galley on shore, they gave it up to be plundered by both sexes who came to meet them. On this our women, dragging the Turks by the hair, after treating them shamefully and cutting their throats in a disgraceful manner, beheaded them. And the weaker the hand to strike, so much the more lengthened was the punishment inflicted; for they used knives, and not swords, for cutting off their heads. A like sea-fight was never seen, so destructive in its issue, accomplished with so much danger, and completed with so much cost.

CH. XXXV.—*Meanwhile the Turks from without, eager to fill our breach with earth, fiercely attack our men who were within.*

IN the mean time the Turkish army from without, though deeply bewailing our victory, persisted in making attacks upon our men who were within the trench, endeavouring either to fill up the completed portion by casting back the earth, or to slay those who resisted. Our men, sustaining their attack, though with difficulty, fight under great dis-

advantages, for they seemed unequal to contend against so countless a multitude,—for the numbers of the assailants continually increased, and we had to take precautions on the side of the city lest they also should rush in and assault us. There was amongst the assailants a fiendish race, very impetuous and obstinate; deformed in nature as they were unlike to the others in character, of a darker appearance, of vast stature, of exceeding ferocity, having on their heads red coverings instead of helmets, carrying in their hands clubs bristling with iron teeth, which neither helmet nor coat of mail could withstand; and they had a carved image of Mahomet for a standard. So great was the multitude of this evil race, that as fast as one party was thrown to the earth, another rushed forward over them. Thus, by their constant attacks, they confounded our men so much, that we doubted which way to turn ourselves; for as there was neither security nor rest, we were distressed on all sides, at one time guarding ourselves from sallies of the besieged from the city, at another from the incessant attacks of the enemy from without; and again from the side of the sea where their galleys were lying in wait to convey the Turks into the city as they arrived, or to intercept the succours which were coming to us the Christians. At length, by favour of the Divine mercy, our adversaries were driven back and repulsed.

CH. XXXVI.—*How our men were on the point of assaulting the city with three wooden towers; the townsmen offer to surrender; while we are attacked by the enemy below, our machines are set on fire.*

OUR chiefs contribute mutually to the making of machines for storming the city, and construct three moveable towers of dry wood, of which the making of the first fell to the lot of the Landgrave, the second to the Genoese, and the third to the rest of the army. The huge machines raised with zealous emulation, and being carried up by stories, were urged forwards on wheels, which, assisted by mechanical contrivances, moved easily. To prevent their catching fire, the workmen covered them with tarpaulins and raw hides; and that the blow of the *petrariæ* might not injure them, which it does if caught by a softer substance, they suspend

twisted ropes in front. And the upper parts of the towers, which were much higher than the walls and bulwarks of the city, contained slingers and darters, while the middle story was occupied by men armed with stakes and poles. Each camp had its *petrariae*, which stood on the side and afforded protection to the towers as they were drawn along, as well as serving to throw down the opposite walls. The townsmen now entirely despairing, offered to surrender the city if they might be allowed to depart and take away their property with them. Our people refused, and hastened with all their might to bring the machines they had made against the walls, upon which the townsmen resisted, and in turn revenge themselves on their besiegers and assaulters; for, on the Saturday after Ascension-day, when the machines had been brought nearer the walls, after we had assaulted the city from morn till even, behold! the army of the Turks from without came rushing in troops with immense violence upon the trench, to attack from the rear those who were assaulting the city, that they might draw them off if not entirely disperse them. Thus, while our men, held in check on both sides, and having their attention divided, were either defending themselves against the attacks from without, or were engaged in storming the city, and their strength was weakened from having so many objects to contend with, the enemy set fire to our towers, which our utmost endeavours could not extinguish, and being burnt with Greek fire, they were rendered useless. And thus, by an unfortunate accident, our hope of triumph fell,—the more mortifying in the result from being considered so certain at first.

CH. XXXVII.—*Of the famine among the citizens and the succour brought in by the galleys.*

THE besieged were now so sorely pressed from the great want of provisions, that they ate up their horses and spared not beasts of other kinds, forgetful of the Mahometan law, while, reduced by hunger to eat forbidden things, they satisfied their ravening appetites. Meanwhile, they turned out the older Christian captives, whom they reckoned useless, having become speechless and decrepit; but they reserved the younger captives, who were hale and fit for work. While the

Turks were thus straitened, there arrived three vessels of burthen, whose crews suddenly threw themselves into the city, for fear of meeting the Christians, in such haste that some of them were wrecked, but those that carried provisions were saved. Whereupon the besieged, overcome with excessive joy, as if their wishes had been gratified, testify their deliverance by howling in loud tones to the music of cymbals and pipes; they hoped by these rejoicings to confirm the belief that they had not sustained any loss.

CH. XXXVIII.—*How Saladin, having collected the armies of his kingdom together, attacks our men, who by their bold resistance force him to retire in confusion.*

MEANWHILE, Saladin, having gathered together the forces of all Asia, from the Tigris as far as India, as well as from the parts between the Tigris and Euphrates, and thence to the southern districts, led them forth to war. From Africa too, there came countless tribes; the Nadabaræ, Gætulians, and Numidians, and from the scorching south, the people named Moors or Mauritians, from the Greek word *μαυρος*, which means black. Thus two divisions of the globe attacked the third; against both of which Europe entered into conflict, the only one of them which acknowledged the name of Christ. Most of these troops served Saladin as stipendiaries; so that the money which had been raised was no longer sufficient for their pay. For by common agreement the barbarians decreed that whoever died, should leave the third of his property to the defenders of the law. Some, however, served for nothing as a sort of pilgrimage, and instead of performing the ceremonies of the law, went to fight against the Christians. The pouring out, therefore, of these multitudes from all parts, gave the king excessive joy; and falling on our men boldly, he hoped either to carry them all away captive, or to exterminate them with the edge of the sword. And if we read that Darius king of the Persians fought with seven hundred thousand men, we may judge of the multitude on the present occasion; for his army could be numbered, but this army none could count. That large plain, stretching from sea to sea, over which they were spread far and wide, would not hold so many thousands; and had the ground been itself

much more extensive, it would have been narrow compared with the numbers engaged. The Christians, though pressed by the townsmen on one side and by the enemy on the other, stood their ground manfully ; and having placed guards at the trenches, repelled the assaults of both. The attack commenced on the Saturday of Pentecost, and continued for eight days, the great slaughter on both sides bearing witness to the fury of the combat. Our men found the holidays no holidays ; but their resolute valour strengthened them to the confusion of the foe ; and He who ordained of old the Apostles to prophecy, now inflamed his soldiers to battle. All had strict charge not to go beyond the camp ; for there was no need to go in search of an enemy, when one was at their doors. And so great was the multitude which came to attack, that darts thrown at random were not without effect ; nor did any take aim, when the crowded squadrons afforded so many objects to wound. On the eighth day, a blow from a sling killed one of the sultan's sons, whose death put a stop to the attack which had begun, and terrified the hostile army. Very many of them, therefore, returned to their own land in great dread of coming in contact with the Christians, who had resisted so great a multitude so boldly.

CH. XXXIX.—*Further of the famine among the citizens and of the succours by the galleys.*

MEANWHILE, hunger afflicts the townsmen sorely, but the south wind brings them supplies of corn from the sultan in Egypt. The vessels were five and twenty in number ; of the three largest of these, two were run aground, while attempting to push through between the Tower of Flies and the adjacent rock ; the third got into port unhurt ; for our galleys had turned them from their intended course ; but one of ours, in its hasty pursuit of the enemy, struck on a rock and was dashed to pieces.

CH. XL.—*Of the misfortunes of our men, arising from a battle begun without the counsel of their chiefs.*

As time wore on, and our army had enjoyed a long repose, the common soldiers, desirous of a change, began to tax the chiefs with sloth ; and all excited with one wish, each encourages his fellow to battle. Their indignation is excited

by the proximity of the heathen camp; the greedy are encouraged by the prospect of spoil, and the honour of victory inflames the warlike. They therefore enter into a tumultuous plot, and with eager heat, prepare unanimously for battle, without asking the consent of their chiefs. The latter endeavour, as far as possible, to check the rash daring of the people, and the patriarch forbids them under pain of anathema from provoking the enemy, and incurring the dangers of a battle, without consulting their chiefs; but neither the dissuasions of these, nor the threats of the others, availed; for fury overcame counsel, violence reason, and order yielded to multitudes; whichever way the vulgar are impelled, they think rashness a virtue, and that to be the best which is the object of their wishes; and not weighing the issue of things, they reject him who chideth, and despise him who ruleth. Therefore, on St. James's-day, a mournful and unpropitious one, the ill-fated crowd of common soldiers burst forth; they go forth in arms, it is true, but they oppose themselves without precaution against the coming danger; a fine body of young men, indeed, distinguished for bravery, and that would yield to no victor, had it had a head, or used counsel in its darings, or been as fond of battle as it was of booty. But the army had no leader; every one was his own soldier and guide; they scarcely paid attention to or followed their proper standards; many ran before them, and thought more of the booty than the battle in which they were to perish. The Mahometans, when they saw the crowd coming forth, whether from fear or design, gave way a little, and as they did not gather up their baggage, they left their tents behind, rich with various things. But under the declivity of an adjacent mount they collected their lost courage, and stopped, while they sent spies to discover the object at which our men aimed, and why they had come forth. Tecadin, the sultan's grandson, at that time had pitched his tent opposite the camp of Himbert; he was a man of active spirit and bold in arms, but of exceeding wickedness and implacable cruelty, and he hated above all things the name of Christian. Hither the aforesaid multitude hastened; hither the lust for plunder urges every one, and they, who were eager after the spoil, explored not the ambuscades that lay around. Many glutted their appetite with the abundance of food they met with, and having

relinquished their arms, lay down in over security, as if they had been invited to a feast. The Turks, having learnt what was going on, soon poured in on all sides, and shouting with a terrible noise, as is their wont, gained an easy victory over a scattered and stupified foe. No one dreamt of fighting, every one thought of flight; but being on foot, laden with arms, and exhausted with thirst and heat, they could not escape when pursued by an active and mounted enemy. In all directions they were routed, and thrown into confusion; no quarter was given, nor a captive taken; fury could not satisfy its appetite, and anger recalls the sword, which the weariness of the striker had for a moment laid aside. Wherever fear urged any one, he was sure to meet with death; an inevitable fate threatened one and all. The foe and slaughter presented themselves on all sides; numbers were wounded, and four thousand are reckoned to have been slain. Though they heard the tumult, and saw the slaughter, the chiefs pretend to be ignorant of it; hard-hearted, inhuman, and impious, certainly they were, who saw their brethren butchered before them, and offered no assistance to them when perishing, whose only crime was the leaving the camp against orders. At length, when others hesitated from sloth, rather than from anger, Ralph de Hauteville, arch-deacon of Colchester, came to the assistance of those who were suffering and succoured them when on the point of falling. He was a man of handsome form and figure, and merited a twofold laurel for his excellence in both kinds of warfare—being illustrious for his knowledge, and famous in arms. He met with a glorious and happy end, after performing many remarkable actions in the siege in which he was then engaged. The townsmen on seeing the success of their friends, issued out boldly, and went so far as to attack and overthrow some of the nearest tents.

CH. XLI.—*Of the ships and succours which came to our men.*

AFTER this sad slaughter had been brought about, by which our strength was considerably diminished, fortune smiled more favourably; and the west wind setting in brought some vessels laden with soldiers. Meanwhile the barbarian fleet, mixing itself secretly with ours, got forward, and imitating the language and ensigns of the Christians, made a sudden and unexpected approach to the city.

CH. XLII.—*What men and warriors of the higher and lower grades of the laity and clergy came to our succour*

WHEN, therefore, our men were utterly purified by the constant fire of tribulation, and the heavy trials which penetrated them to the very soul, the Lord regarded them, and withdrew them from the scourge, for He deserteth not those who hope in Him, and He grieved over them, and brought them powerful allies from the uttermost parts of the earth, illustrious men, mighty in battle, who not only made up for the past valour of the lost army, but also augmented it by numerous additions. Amongst the first that landed was Count Henry of Troyes, count of Champagne, with a powerful body of soldiers. There came, also, many others in succession, whose names are given as they arrived. They were: Theobald, Count of Blois, who died within three months after his arrival; next came Count Stephen, the Count of Clairmont, Count of Scalons, Manserius de Garland, Bernard de St. Waleri, John Count of Pontiny, Erard de Castiny, Robert de Buon, Adaunius de Fontaines, Louis de Ascla, Walter d'Arzillieres, Guy de Castellan, with his brother Lovel, Guy de Meisieres, John de Montmirail, John d'Arcy; also the Lord of Camte in Burgundy, Gaubert d'Aspremont, Clarembald de Noyers, the Bishop of Blois, the Bishop of Toulon, the Bishop of Ostia, the Bishop of Mordre (Mordrensis), the Bishop of Brescia, the Bishop of Aste; also the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Archbishop of Cæsarea, the Bishop of Nazareth; there were also the bishop elect of Acre, and the Archbishop of Besançon, Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hubert Bishop of Salisbury; as well as the Archdeacon of Colchester, Rodolph de Hauterive, of whom we have spoken before, and the Abbot of Scalons, the Abbot of Esterp. There came, also, a priest, who was incessantly active against the enemy, hurling darts from a sling with indefatigable toil.

There came, also, many from Normandy, such as Walkelin de Ferrars, Robert Trussebot, Richard de Vernon with his son, Guilbert de Tillieres with a strong band of warriors, and Ivo de Vipont, Ranulph de Glanville, formerly justiciary of England, Gilbert de Malines, and Hugh de Gorney. Besides these came many from different parts of the earth, whose

names have not been enumerated; and if we knew them we would not mention them, for fear of wearying our hearers.

CH. XLIII.—*How Henry of Champagne was set over the army.*

HENRY count of Troyes at that time landed with a strong body of soldiers, into whose hands was committed the command of the army, which James d'Avennes and the Landgrave had held hitherto conjointly or by turn; for the Landgrave being in ill-health left the camp on the pretext of returning home;—a man who, after performing many noble actions, to the admiration of all, tarnished the bright glory of his deeds by his pusillanimous return.

CH. XLIV.—*How the duke of Suabia came to Acre by the persuasion of the marquis.*

AT this time, the duke of Suabia, shortly after his father's death, was staying at Antioch with the sons of the emperor, and the chiefs send to him to remain in that quarter, to make war upon the neighbouring territory of the barbarians. This was sound and wholesome policy; for if he had occupied the enemy by urging the war in many places at once, their endeavours would have become distracted, and consequently weaker for individual operations. The marquis, who was charged with this message, failed to execute his instructions faithfully, and by an invidious interpretation of them influenced the duke's mind, for he represented that the chiefs wanted to procure his absence through jealousy, that they might have the glory of taking the city without him. Some asserted that the marquis had received from the sultan sixty thousand byzantines to persuade the duke to depart from the confines of Antioch. The duke, therefore, on arriving at Acre, proved a cause of disagreement, for the French had an old and long-standing quarrel with the Germans, since the kingdom and empire contended for the supremacy.

CH. XLV.—*How the marquis, by the advice of the duke, aspired to the kingdom.*

MOREOVER, the marquis, secretly assisting the cause of the duke, to whom he was related by blood, studiously sought his

presence, that by his means, if he could, he might obtain the throne. An accident also favourable to his wishes made him indulge more confidently in his hopes, for premature death carried off the queen and the offspring she had conceived from King Guy; but in order that this point may be more clearly understood, we will trace the succession of the royal race from its first origin.

CH. XLVI.—*Of the genealogy of the kings of Jerusalem, and the cause why the marquis aspired to the throne.*

It must be stated that Fulk, father of Geoffrey, count of Anjou, who was chosen king of Jerusalem on account of his singular virtues, had two sons, Baldwin and Almaric, by Melesende, the daughter of King Baldwin, his predecessor. Of these the elder ascended the throne, and bearing his grandfather's name, married Theodora, the daughter [niece] of Manuel, emperor of Byzantium, but died without children after the conquest and capture of Askalon. His brother, who succeeded to his valour and throne, compelled Babylon to pay tribute, and by his two marriages had offspring of both sexes. His first wife, Beatrix, whom he married before coming to the throne, was daughter of the Count of Roasia; but forasmuch as she was related to him by blood, the marriage was set aside by judgment of the clergy, by a formal divorce. He had, however, two children by her, a daughter named Sybille, and a son called Baldwin, who on his father's death, being presented with the crown, although a minor and afflicted with leprosy, miraculously defeated Saladin and sixty thousand Turks, with a small body of soldiers. He, being removed at an early age from the affairs of this world, appointed as his successor his nephew Baldwin, whose mother had married William, the brother of the marquis; but who died while yet a child in his seventh year. But as the boy's father had been dead some time, Guy, who had come to visit the sepulchre, and was sprung from Poitou, married his mother Sybille, and in her right assumed the insignia of royalty; by her he had four daughters, whose premature death, and that of their mother, caused Guy to be accused, and gave the marquis the hope of reigning. Furthermore, Maria, whom King Almaric had married after divorcing his first wife, was a kinswoman of the Emperor Manuel, and had two daughters: one of them died

in infancy, but Enfrid of Tours espoused Elizabeth, the second daughter, before she was of a marriageable age; but forasmuch as she was heiress to the throne, the marquis determined to remove both, and deprive Enfrid of his wife, as well as Guy of his sceptre.

CH. XLVII.—*The wonders which happened during the siege are subjoined.*

MEANWHILE, according to the various events of war, as has been said, success changing from one side to the other, there occurred manifold incidents not less wonderful than to be wondered at, which seem worthy of our notice.

CH. XLVIII.—*How a certain petraria of the enemy by its strength destroyed all our machines, and how it struck one of our men without hurting him.*

ONE of the enemy's *petraria*, of which there were a great number in the city, was of an unusual magnitude and form, and as the engineers intended it, able to cast stones of immense weight, the blows of which nothing could resist: for it cast stones of incredible size to a great distance, and its blow destroyed everything it struck. When the stones met with no obstacle, they were driven into the ground a foot deep. It struck and shivered in pieces some of our *petraria*, or rendered them useless, and either destroyed our other machines, or knocked off the part it touched. In fact there was nothing so solid or compact, of whatever kind or substance, that would bear its overwhelming blow, so great was the violence with which it acted. This machine struck one of our men from behind with a stone of enormous size, as he was standing with his face turned away, quite unsuspecting of danger, not supposing that a stone could be sent so far, yet it hurt him not in the least, but, rebounding as from a mountain, fell close by, and the man, when he saw it, was more horrified at the sight than injured by the blow. Who does not see by this the wonderful works of the Lord, and that his mercy is ever ready for those who fight for him? To the praise of his mightiness I will subjoin other of his works.

CH. XLIX.—*How a javelin, hurled against one of our men, penetrated his armour, but would not penetrate his breast, where a writing containing the name of God lay.*

FURTHERMORE, one of our body-guard, while walking in the ditch outside the city wall, either for the purpose of reconnoitering the weak parts of the wall, or to strike any of the enemy he could see with his sling, stopped at last; he was armed sufficiently like a foot-soldier, with iron headpiece, coat of mail, and a tunic of many folds of linen, difficult of penetration, and artificially worked with the needle, vulgarly called a *pourpoint*. A Turk from the wall struck him with a dart from a sling with great force on the breast, so that it penetrated all the aforementioned, the iron armour descending from the head, and the coat of mail and *pourpoint*, but it was stopped by a certain writing hanging from his neck on his breast, and fell out blunted and twisted as from an iron plate. Are not the works of God manifest in the dart penetrating many folds of steel, and bounding back blunted from a little scroll? For the man was said to have worn suspended from his breast, the name of God on a scroll, thus proved to be impenetrable to steel. God is a wall of strength to them that hope in him.

CH. L.—*How one of our men unarmed, having retired to satisfy the calls of nature, struck down with a stone a Turk attacking him with a lance.*

AGAIN, as one of our men was stooping down outside the camp, a Turk rode up to attack him unawares, but the soldier on seeing him advance sideways, and scarcely having done what he came for at the aforesaid ditch, rose up hastily, though unarmed, either to avoid him as he came up, or by an impulse from the Lord to receive him in the best way he could. As the Turk struck at him with the point of his lance, he bent down and escaped the blow by the protection of God.

“The horse rode by and passed with scatheless blow.”

The Turk annoyed at his ill success, prepared to repeat the attack, and brandishing his lance, bore down upon the soldier. What could the latter do, unarmed as he was? On foot,

single-handed, and a ready prey for the foe, he called upon God, who is always by his grace present with his people, and seeing a stone by chance ready at hand, he aimed it at the face of his enemy, which was exposed beneath his helmet, and it struck him on the temple. The Turk fell stunned from his horse, broke his neck, and died; the soldier caught the horse, mounted, and returned to his friends. One who saw the occurrence, related it; and it is well known as a fact in the camp.

CH. LI.—*How a woman on the point of death, while our men were filling the city trench with earth, threw herself in instead of earth.*

ON another occasion, amongst those who were carrying earth to make a mound in the ditch for assaulting the town more easily, was a woman who laboured with great diligence and earnestness, and went to and fro unceasingly, and encouraged others unremittingly, in order that the work might be accomplished; but her zeal put an end to her life and labours; for while a crowd of all sexes and ages were constantly coming and going to complete the work in question, and while the aforesaid woman was occupied in depositing what she had brought, a Turk, who had been lying wait for her, struck her a mortal blow with a dart. As she fell to the ground, writhing with the violence of her pain, she entreated her husband and many others who had come up to assist her, with tears in her eyes, and very urgently, saying, "By your love for me, my dearest lord, by your piety as my husband, and the faith of our marriage contracted of old, permit not my corpse to be removed from this place; but I pray and beseech you, that since I can do nothing more towards the fulfilment of the work, I may deem myself to have done some good, if you will allow my lifeless body to be laid in the trench instead of earth, for it will soon be earth." This she urged with supplications to all the multitude that stood around, and soon after gave up the ghost. Oh! wonderful faith of the weaker sex! Oh! zeal of woman, worthy of imitation, for she ceased not, even dead, to help those who laboured, and in her death continued to shew her zeal in the cause!

CH. LII.—*Of the Turk's horse caught in a net.*

AGAIN, a common fellow of our camp was spreading his net outside the camp, either for the purpose of driving off the Turks or to catch them if they came on; one of them came rushing forward on horseback, and put the man to flight before he had finished what he was about; but unable to overtake him, he gave up the pursuit, when he saw him reach the camp, and in his excessive indignation, he began to pluck up the net. But after pulling up some poies by which the net was fixed with cords, his horse's head was accidentally entangled and caught by the net, which he was trying to roll up in a hasty, incautious manner. The horse, being one of great beauty, was indignant at being thus hampered, and in his wild attempts to get free, became more and more entangled. Some of our men seeing this, rode down in haste toward him. The Turk, finding his horse entangled, quickly dismounted and fled on foot, and although deprived of his steed, escaped his pursuers, for fear added wings to his feet. His valuable horse, which had broken the net in many parts, was with difficulty disentangled, and became an object of contention, but was given to the man who had fixed the net, as compensation for his loss.

CH. LIII.—*Of the Turk's horse that was caught in a foot-trap.*

AT another time, when, on account of the frequent and sudden sallies of the Turks, our chiefs ordered that foot-traps should be made and buried in the earth to escape being seen, it happened one day, that while some of our young men were exercising by appointment in the plain by throwing darts at a mark, some of the Turks, putting spurs to their horses, suddenly attacked them, upon which our young men, being unarmed and inferior in numbers, retreated to the camp. But one of the pursuers, as if trusting in the activity of his horse, too eagerly outstript the others, when the animal was suddenly stopped in its career by being caught in a foot-trap, and no effort or endeavour of his rider could extricate him. The Turk, preferring the loss of his horse to that of his head, escaped on foot, uninjured, to his own friends. The horse was decreed to be given to him whose instrument caught it, viz. Robert Count of Dreux.

CH. LIV.—*How Ivo de Vipont slays eighty pirates with a handful of men.*

ON another occasion, as three sailors were conducting Ivo de Vipont with ten companions to Tyre, and had wandered too far from the port, some Turkish pirates, coming out in a galley from an eddy of the sea near the land, bore down upon them; they were about eighty in number, and when the sailors saw them coming near, in their excessive fear they cried out together, "O Lord God, we shall be taken and slaughtered." To whom Ivo de Vipont said, "Why do ye of little faith fear those whom you shall soon see dead?" And when the enemy's galley appeared by force of rowing to be on the point of striking the vessel with its beak, Ivo leapt into it and began to cut down the Turks who pressed upon him, with the axe he carried in his hand. His companions, when they saw his work prosper, gaining heart, leapt into the galley also, and either beheaded whomsoever they found, or led them away captives. Thus these men triumphed who placed their hope in God, who knows not how to be conquered, and with whom a counterfeit faith availeth not, nor a multitude of warriors, for it matters not with the Lord whether the valour of battle and the glory of victory rest with a few or with many.

CH. LV.—*The admiral's genitalia destroyed by the Greek fire with which the enemy proposed to destroy our machines.*

AGAIN, when the townsmen beheld a great multitude of our people going, as was their wont, in search of provender for the animals, they sallied out against them under the command of their admiral Bellegeminus, a famous and powerful man, and rushed without care upon them; but our men withstood the enemy obstinately, and after many were killed on both sides, drove them back into the city. But the admiral stood his ground a long time, as he was a man of greater bravery than the others; while he was doing his best to execute the main object of the attack by cutting to pieces or burning with Greek fire the machines which were ready to move against the walls of the city, and as, while his men fled, he lagged behind to accomplish his purpose, a soldier, coming behind, threw him from his horse, and the vessel in

which he carried the Greek fire being broken by the fall, the inextinguishable liquid burnt his genitalia. So that what he had intended for our detriment became his own destruction.

CH. LVI.—*How a Turk, while carrying the Greek fire, is caught in a net by our men.*

ON one occasion, some of our fishermen were throwing their nets for fish at no great distance from land,—men who, being devoted to this pursuit, gained a livelihood for themselves and no small relief by selling the fish. It happened one day towards sunset, when the nets were stretched out, that one of our men, sitting on an elevated spot on shore, saw a man swimming at a distance with his head only above water, and on his pointing him out, the aforesaid fishermen closely pursued the swimmer in their boat to ascertain what this strange appearance might be; and when they approached nearer they perceived that he was a Turk. He was frightened at their shouts and tried to escape, but they rowed quickly and caught him in their net. The man, being an expert swimmer, had already passed their nets with a load which he carried suspended from his neck, for he had with him in a skin Greek fire, destined for the besieged in the city. In this way the Turks used to send Greek fire to the besieged by skilful swimmers, as they judged it the safest and most secret plan. The fishermen landed with their captive, and told their story to those on shore: and then conducted him with the fire he carried through the midst of the army, and after scourging him severely and gibing at him, they sadly mangled, and then decapitated him, and so he had his reward. Thus the Lord shewed that he cared for his people; for he scattereth the counsels of the heathen and of princes, and brought to nothing the plans which the malignity of the enemy imagined.

CH. LVII.—*How a Turk, who attempted to defile the cross of Christ, died of a wound with a dart in his bowels.*

AGAIN, we think we ought not to pass over the following fact in silence, though irksome of relation and horrible to listen to: viz. that the Turks were wont, to the scandal

and disgrace of our faith, to take whatever images and pictures representing the mysteries of our religion they could find in the city, bringing them on the walls in sight of the Christians, to scourge and beat them with rods as if they were alive, and spit upon and treat them shamefully in many other ways as the humour took them. One day as some of our men saw a Turk doing this and tossing about a cross with the image of our Saviour in a shameful and impious manner, and obscenely giving utterance to blasphemies and impious revilings against our religion, on his proceeding further and attempting to defile the same, a zealous man cast a dart from his sling and killed the Turk, and thus proved to him how man's attempts against the Lord are as nothing.

CH. LVIII.—*How a Parthian bowman was shot by a Welch bowman, for not keeping to his agreement.*

It chanced, moreover, one day that the slingers and bowmen, and all who were skilled in throwing missiles, frequently challenged one another on both sides, and discharged their weapons for exercise. When the rest had departed from the field in their turns, a Parthian and a Welchman began to aim their arrows at each other in a hostile manner, and discharge them so as to strike with all their might. But the Welchman, aware of his foe's intention, repaid like for like; on which the Parthian, making a truce, approached him, and when within hearing, began a parley. "Of what country are you," said he, "and by what name may I be pleased to know you? I see you are a good bowman, and in order that you may be more inclined to tell me, I am a Parthian by nation, brought up from childhood in the art of shooting, and my name is Grammahyr, of good reputation amongst my people for my deeds of renown, and well known for my victories." The Welchman told his name and nation. "Let us prove," said the Parthian, "which is the best bowman, by each taking an arrow, and aiming them against one another from our bows. You shall stand still first, and I will aim an arrow at you, and afterwards you shall shoot in like manner at me." The Welchman agreed. The Parthian having fitted his arrow, and parting his feet as the art requires, with his hands stretched asunder, and his eyes fixed on the mark

"Let's fly the arrow, failing of its aim."

The Welchman, unhurt, demanded the fulfilment of the afore-said condition. "I will not agree," said the Parthian; "but you must stand another shot, and then have two at me." The Welchman replied, "You do not stand by your agreement, nor observe the condition you yourself dictated; and if you will not stand, although I may delay it for a time, as I may best be able, God will take revenge on you according to His will, for your treachery;" and he had scarce finished speaking, when in the twinkling of an eye he smote the Turk with his arrow in the breast, as he was selecting an arrow from his quiver to suit his purpose, and the weapon, meeting with no obstacle, came out at the back, having pierced the Turk's body; upon which he said to the Turk, "You stood not by your agreement, nor I by my word." Animated by these and the like successes, the Christians thought they should preserve themselves for good fortune by bearing all their misfortunes with more cheerful faith, and more fervent hope.

CH. LIX.—*Of the sea-fight between the Turks and our men, and how, while our men are trying to take the Tower of Flies with towers and machines fixed on the galleys, our machines are destroyed by fire.*

MEANWHILE the Pisans, and others who were skilled in managing ships, to whom had been entrusted the siege of the city from the sea, had built and fitted on their galleys a machine in the form of a castle, with bulwarks, with a great deal of toil, to overlook the walls, and give the power of throwing in their missiles more effectually. They had also built two ladders, with some steps, whereby they might reach the top of the walls. These machines they covered, as well as the galleys, with raw hides, so that it was judged they would not be affected by iron, or any kind of weapon.

Having all things in readiness, they proceeded to lay siege to the Tower of Flies, and fiercely attacked it with slings and missiles. Those who were in the tower manfully resisted them, and being a match for them, both in strength and good fortune, they took immediate revenge on our men for the death of one of their party. And in order to vanquish them or drive them away, nearly two thousand Turks went out from the city against the galleys to give assistance to the besieged in the tower, while they harassed the Pisans from the opposite quarter. Our men being skilful and experienced

warriors, moved their machines as conveniently as they could against the aforesaid tower, and immediately strove to cast immense anchors on it, and throw on its defenders whatsoever stones or weapons they had at hand; while others were appointed to fight by sea, and no less bravely repelled those who attacked them in that quarter. With the anchors they threw on the tower the defences were pulled down, and the bucklers and shields crushed to pieces. The tower was assaulted for a long time with wonderful and intolerable violence; one party succeeding the other when tired, in rapid succession and with invincible valour. Darts flew with horrid crash, and ponderous missiles rushed whizzing through the air. The Turks give way for a time, for they were not able to withstand the brunt of the battle; and behold! our men, having fixed the ladders for scaling the tower, were ready to mount, when the Turks, seeing that it was their last struggle, and that they must resist our ascent with all their might, cast masses of enormous size down to crush our men and throw them from the ladders. They afterwards threw Greek fire on our castle, which at last caught fire; and when those who were in it saw this, they were obliged to descend and retreat. An incalculable slaughter of the Turks, who attacked our men from the sea, was made; and although the design of our men was defeated on the side of the tower, those to seaward slew an immense number of the enemy. In the end the machines were destroyed by the devouring fire, together with the turret and the galleys in which they were placed, and the upright ladders. The Turks, overcome with excessive joy, laughed with loud shouts, making a mockery of us, and wagging their heads at our misfortune: and the Christians, being disheartened above measure, were not less annoyed by the revilings that were heaped upon them, than by the losses they had sustained. However, their spirits were raised by the constant arrival of strangers, and they were thus strengthened by the increase of their numbers.

CH. LX.—*The townsmen, with great loss to themselves, burn the battering-ram of the archbishop of Besançon, with Greek fire.*

MEANWHILE, the archbishop of Besançon had caused to be built, with great labour and much expense, a machine to batter down the walls, covered with iron plates, com-

monly called a battering-ram; because by repeated and frequent blows, after the manner of a ram, it overthrows the most solid walls. Another very strong ram was built by Count Henry; and the other princes and heroes, either singly or conjunctly, had caused to be made different kinds of machines. Some prepared sows* of different kinds; others poles; or whatsoever each fancied, or which came first to hand. A day was then appointed for bringing against the walls the instruments that each had prepared. The archbishop brought his machine, like a ceiled house, to strike the walls; it had in front a very long mast of a ship, with its head covered with iron, which was impelled by many men, and then being drawn back again, was levelled with greater force; and thus, by frequent blows, they tried to breach or cast down the city walls. Those who impelled the machine below were secure from all injury that came from above. The Turks defended themselves manfully from the walls, and collected and threw upon it immense heaps of dry wood, to set the machine on fire, while, independently of its being easily assailed by fire, they cast immense masses from the petraræ, without ceasing. Last of all, they threw on it Greek fire, and the dry wood having caught, the men in it saw it must be inevitably destroyed, and were obliged, by the intolerable heat, to leave it, and continue their attack with what instruments they could lay hold of. The Turks were indefatigable in their efforts to destroy the machine, by throwing down immense masses on it, or consuming it by means of liquid oil. Great was the contest and show of prowess between the Turks and Christians; the latter strove to extricate the battering-ram, the former to resist their attempts. The fire, once lighted, and fed constantly by the Turks, who spared no material for the purpose, reduced the machine to ashes. The Christians retired, grieving at the failure of their efforts; while the Turks hastened to and fro, with dances and shouting, and thought their deeds incomparable. But they did not insult our adversities with impunity for they lost eighty of their number, and amongst them, a certain renowned admiral, at whose command these things were done; though they concealed their grief, that their loss

* *Sues rostratas, contos, sues.* The sow was a military covering, under shelter of which the assailants made their approaches to the walls of a besieged town.

might escape our notice. Our chiefs, observing that their exertions had not the success they expected, broken down by their misfortunes, determined to take respite for awhile, and relax their efforts.

CH. LXI.—*How a fleet of fifteen ships was sent to the aid of the townsmen, of which several perished.*

MEANWHILE, soon after the feast of St. Michael, a fleet of fifteen ships arrived from Alexandria, glittering in gorgeous array, and a short distance one from another, they arrived towards dusk, and being driven by a violent wind, were unable to slacken their course. Hence, when they saw our army, they dreaded lest we should go forth to meet them, and they could not avoid us; but the Christians did not venture, as the night was coming on, and the wind high. The fleet, too, having gathered together, made for the chain, with all speed: the three largest ships, of the kind called dromons, came behind; the galleys, which were swifter of motion, went before. They bore down violently into port, and coming into collision with each other, two of them dashed on the rocks, and most of the men on board perished, amidst the shouts and laughter of the Christians, who beheaded some of them that were cast on shore by the fury of the waves. Besides this, they seized upon the largest of the galleys, which was driven by the wind into port, laden with provisions; and having killed the crew, they kept the cargo for themselves. The remainder reached the desired haven, below the chain, in safety; and when the townsmen saw them, they went out with numberless lamps, and received them with much pomp into the city, overjoyed at their arrival. Afterwards, their numbers being thus augmented, they turned out of the town those of their men who were less fit for fighting, lest their numbers should consume their provisions and strength; and so the time was protracted.

CH. LXII.—*How, on our men being set in battle array under the command of Archbishop Baldwin against Saladin, Saladin flies to the mountains.*

THE common men now murmured at the inactivity of the chiefs, and the continuance of a fruitless blockade, and grew weary of the siege; and when the chiefs had considered for

some time what had best be done, the result was, that the enemy on the outside should be challenged to a general engagement; for if the hostile army gave way, the city would more easily be assaulted and stormed. On the morrow of St. Martin's, therefore, our chiefs led out their troops in order of battle into the plain, in the cold rays of a winter's sun; and when we saw them come forth, with their various standards, the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the others, their number, valour, and varied costumes, created in us mixed sentiments of admiration, confidence, and pleasure. The clergy claimed no small share of military glory; for abbots and prelates led their own troops, and fought manfully for the faith, joyfully contending for the law of God. Among and above the others, the venerable Archbishop Baldwin distinguished himself; and although his advanced age might have inclined him to inactivity, the perfection of his virtues made up for the defect of nature. Raising the standard on which was inscribed the name of the glorious martyr Thomas, he found for it a meet and worthy company; for two hundred knights and three hundred followers served in the pay of the holy man. He himself, with the duke of Suabia, and Theobald, count of Blois, had charge of the camp; and having performed the duties of the patriarch, who was ill in bed, he blessed and gave absolution to the army as it went forth. Nor could the noble bishop of Salisbury endure to be absent from the fray, but he performed the duties of a soldier in the field, a leader in the camp, and a pastor in the church. Towards sunset, when the army had advanced and pitched their tents, the townsmen came into the vacant space, and burst upon the baggage to plunder it; but our men received them manfully, and putting them to flight, saved their friends without sustaining any loss. At night, the sultan ordered all his tents and property to be carried to the mountains; and what could not be moved in time was burnt. It was the part of a spirit conquered and hesitating, thus declining battle on the plain, to destroy his own property, change his position, and retreat to the mountains. When he found a spot not easy of access, he halted; and sent out an overwhelming number of infantry and bowmen to check those who should pursue, that at least he might annoy from above, those whom he feared to engage at close quarters. Our men, therefore, cheated of

their battle in the plain, and unable to follow the foe up the precipitous road, returned equally without hurt and without glory.

CH. LXIII.—*How the Turks fought with a party of our men, who had gone out to Caiffa for provisions, and were returning, and how they yielded.*

AFTER this, hearing that provisions, of which they were much in want, might be procured at Caiffa, the army proceeded in that direction; but when they came to a place called Recordana, behold the Turks suddenly rushing down, made a fierce attack on them, taking them for fugitives; some of them threw their darts, others pressed on with their spears; one party made loud shouting, another blew their trumpets like horns, to frighten those who were flying. Our men, having pitched their tents in the plain that night, kept quiet till morning; and then they saw the Turks in vast numbers surrounding them on all sides. Our men terrified at such a multitude, having taken up their arms, and put themselves in array, went forth in battle array to meet them; yet the Turks did not venture to attack, but gave way as our men came on, although their own numbers were countless. Having heard that there were no provisions at Caiffa, as they supposed, for the Turks had carried them all away, our men returned towards Acre in order of battle. The Turks constantly harassed them on the road, but they sustained little loss from their attacks. At a certain river, however, which flows from thence to Acre, near a fountain, there was a severe engagement, and great slaughter of noble steeds, before the armies were separated; our army now proceeded on one side of the stream, while the other was occupied by the enemy, who were constantly engaged in throwing missiles, and threatening them without ceasing, as well as harassing them in the rear. They harassed our men much, for the foot followers and bowmen, who occupied the rear of our army, were forced to keep facing about and discharging arrows at their pursuers without intermission.

On the following night they pitched their camps close by the stream, and had very little rest, but much anxiety; for they were obliged either to drive off the enemy, who attacked them openly, or watch against hidden ambus-

cares; for it was not so much by constant, as continued, attacks, that the enemy tried to annoy them with injuries, or provoke them with jeers. There was a bridge over the river, which it was necessary for us to pass, but which was occupied by the Turks before our arrival; this they had not had time to break down, as they intended, but closing together, they placed themselves in the middle of it to check our advance; but when our men saw that nothing but absolute force would remove them, Godfrey of Lusignan, the king's brother, with five other chosen knights, made a fierce attack upon them, and put them to flight in a moment, and by the same assault threw thirty of them into the river, never more to rise, for they were drowned; thus they gained a free passage across the river in spite of all opposition, and returned to the siege of Acre.

CH. LXIV.—*With what guiles the marquis espoused the wife of Reinfred, who was yet alive, in order to gain the heirship of the kingdom.*

Now the marquis, having for some time aspired to the glory of reigning, on seeing a way open to his wishes, made himself confident of obtaining the kingdom, if he could supplant the wife of Reinfred; to this end he strained every effort, and put in practice every art. But adopting an underhand policy, he complained of the condition of the kingdom, that the king was not able to manage affairs, that he was reigning without right, now his wife was removed, and that another daughter of King Amalric still survived. He first set forth these matters among the people, but he sedulously courted the chiefs also, enticing these with gifts, and binding others by the tie of kindred; and all he either allures by his bland manners, or obliges by his gifts, or gains over by his promises. It was easy for so active a man, surpassing Sinon in devices, Ulysses in eloquence, and Mithridates in variety of tongues, to gain all his wishes, armed as he was with such cunning; but forasmuch as the Church forbade the bonds of marriage to be broken asunder, the crafty man found out a new charge to take away the wife of Reinfred; for the chiefs persuaded him that she could be separated from her husband without violation of the law, as having married when too young, and without consent. But Reinfred himself had conceived

the hope of gaining the kingdom in the right of his wife—a person more akin to a woman than a man, effeminate in manner and loose in language, and to whom that verse of Virgil applies,

“ While Nature doubts, if boy or girl be made,
You're born, fair boy, to be a pretty jade.”

For one day, when, at the mandate of the chiefs, Reinfréd had brought forward his wife, he lost his bride and his kingdom together by the arts of the marquis. Oh wickedness worthy of the satirist's pen and of tragic declamation! For if we condemn the rape of Helen, the present deed is much more base, and its injustice greater: for Helen was stolen, surreptitiously stolen, in the absence of her husband, whereas this one was violently withdrawn in his presence. But that the act might lose the infamy of its wrong, the girl is given into the keeping of a sequestrator, while the judgment of the clergy is sought for a divorce. The marquis, therefore, tampered with the clergy by gifts and wiles; he sounded all those whom he believed agreeable to his purpose and effects, by immense largesses and the fascination of gold, to corrupt their judicial impartiality. The report of so great a wickedness was carried to the ears of the most sacred metropolitan of Canterbury; it arouses his innocence to astonishment, and inflames the anger of the defender of the law. While he performed with due rigour the duties of the patriarch, who, as we said, was sick, the friends of the marquis tried to quash the verdict which was to be given, under the pretext of appeal. Three of his chief favourites were Reginald, lord of Sidon, Pagan, of the castle of Caiffa, and Balisantus; and there would have been a fourth, the count of Tripoli, had he not gone away, who would have formed this consummate council of iniquity. For in them, as in an abode of wickedness, were united the treachery of Judas, the cruelty of Nero, the impiety of Herod, and all that the present or olden times regarded as abominable and wicked. Now, Balisantus, on Amalric's death, had married his wife, this damsel's mother; and she, having imbibed from her childhood the lowest Grecian morals, had a husband similar to herself in cruelty, levity, and faithlessness. The marquis wins them both over by presents and promises, to persuade the girl to prefer a complaint, that she

had married Reinfred against her will, that she had always opposed it, and that the marriage could not stand, because she had never given her consent. This plot is entirely successful, and the woman easily changes her mind; for a female is always variable and changeable, her sex frail, her mind fickle, and she delights in novelty; so she lightly rejects and forgets those whom she knows; the girl is thus easily taught what is bad, and willingly receives evil advice, and so blushed not to say that she was not carried away, but had followed the marquis willingly. Indeed the chiefs themselves, in defiance of justice, used their efforts to bring it about that the marquis should have the kingdom and the damsel. The venerable archbishop of Canterbury seeing that justice and equity were perversely confounded, and that ecclesiastical authority would be rejected; perceiving also that the clergy, with some of the bishops, who had a sounder mind and more fervent zeal, murmured as far as they dared; he pronounced sentence of excommunication on those who had contracted and agreed to this unholy wedlock, and not undeservedly, because he had cohabited with another man's wife, and taken her to his own house and espoused her, by the ministry of the bishop of Beauvais, and because he had a wife in his own country, and another in Constantinople, both of noble birth, young, and beautiful, and suitable to his position; whence the clergy charged him with threefold adultery, and as far as they could, spoke against the act which the holy church deemed impious. Those who favoured him tried to excuse themselves on the plea that the marquis had sworn to supply the army, when in much want, with an abundance of provision from Tyre, on condition of their aiding him in the marriage; but he had set at nought his oath, and transgressed the sanctity of his honour, for he who is faithless in a little, fears not to commit a greater crime. And while the nuptials were celebrated with great festivity, it happened that some of our men, who were guests at the feast, having gone to a short distance from the spot, were set upon by an ambuscade of the Turks, and some taken, others slain. This was the commencement of misfortunes. Here the Butler of St. Lice was taken, and whether the Turks kept him captive or killed him, was never known afterwards. Twenty men were taken prisoners or slain on this occasion.

CH. LXV.—*How the marquis returned to Tyre, and perjured himself, by not assisting our men when in need of provisions.*

BUT the marquis, having gained his wishes, returned to Tyre quickly with his wife and his men; and the army was disappointed in their expectation of obtaining through him a supply of provisions. For, on the contrary, either forgetful of this agreement, or ungrateful for what was done for him, he did not send so much as an egg when the army was in danger of starvation; but, both perjurer and liar, he would not allow those who wished to sail to Acre with provisions to depart. Therefore, the want of provisions increased daily amongst the besiegers; little or nothing was found to purchase, and nothing was brought by ships.

CH. LXVI.—*How Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, died.*

WHEN the archbishop of Canterbury saw what he had before heard, that the army had become altogether dissolute, and given to drinking, women, and dice, it afflicted his spirit, unable to bear such excesses, even to the weariness of life. And because a disease which is general is difficult to cure, when one day the worst reports of this kind reached his ears, knowing that man is charged with the care of things, though the power of creating is God's, he sighed and uttered these words, "O Lord God! now is there need of chastening and correcting with holy grace, that if it please thy mercy that I should be removed from the turmoil of this present life, I have remained long enough in this army." Scarcely fifteen days after these words, as if heard by the Lord, he began to feel cold and stiff, and overcome by a fever, a few days after he slept in the Lord.

CH. LXVII.—*Of the bitterness of the famine amongst our men, and the enormous price of provisions, which was the cause of their cursing the marquis.*

MEANWHILE, the want of provisions increased daily, and the middle and lower classes were tormented at first continuously rather than constantly by the approaching famine, the more severely as the marquis prevaricated more shamefully. Nevertheless, he sent provisions secretly to those accomplices and favourers he had won over to join in his illicit and impious

transaction. And now the higher ranks of the army obtained hardly sufficient food to sustain life, and the winter was drawing near, a period when they were usually more prodigal and luxurious, formerly abundant in all kinds of food, but now with the change of circumstances threatening want; and the hungry stomach, once overloaded, now became satisfied with any food it could procure. The greedy table had consumed their substance, and not satiating the sharp appetite of those who were in search of it, they were worn away by hunger, being without the common necessities of life; and they felt it so much the more severely, as it was the time when they were accustomed to dainties. The heat of the season, too, added to the horrors of the impending famine, and want is always felt more severely by those who have been brought up in affluence. Why need we say more? A moderate measure of wheat, which a man could carry under his arm, was sold for 100 aurei, a chicken for twelve sols, and an egg for six deniers. By these examples, the rates of all other kinds of provisions may be imagined. The army then cursed the marquis for withdrawing their means of support, and because through him they stood in danger of starvation.

CH. LXVIII.—*How our men, while perishing of famine, ate the dead bodies of their horses, with their intestines.*

FAMINE, as we have said, urges to the commission of crimes, and yet pardonable ones, for the Lord created all things for man, and gave them into his hands to be of service to him, that man should not perish while beasts lived; they therefore slew valuable horses, and without taking off the skins of some of them, ate horse-flesh with joy; even the intestines were sold for ten sols. And wherever it was known a horse was killed, they crowded to it one before the other to buy or steal, and like birds of prey to a corpse, so the starving soldiers rushed in troops to a dead steed, that they might devour the bodies of those that once carried them; and thus the animals who once carried them on their backs were in turn carried themselves; the dead horse sold for more than a living one, and the words of the evangelist seemed to apply to them, "Where the body is, there the eagles are gathered together;" saving the mystical interpretation, from the dignity of which we do not wish to derogate.

None of the intestines of the slain horses were rejected, owing to the pressure of the famine, and the most worthless part was valued at a high rate: they ate up the head with the intestines, so that after all was consumed, nay, devoured with avidity, they licked their fingers with a relish, that while any thing remained, it might be removed with the tongue rather than wiped away with a napkin. Hence they held the marquis in detestation for depriving them of the means of subsistence, since by his means they had been defrauded of their food, and stood in danger of starvation.

CH. LXIX.—*How he who had some food ate it secretly.*

IN progress of time, the famine increased exceedingly for want of provisions, and if any one had any thing appertaining to food, he hid away secretly for his own use that which was enough for more than once, in order that it might not be taken away from him by force; and thus it happened that little was exposed for sale, and whatsoever they had they did not distribute for common use, but the poor man was everywhere in want. Hence their detestation of the marquis for depriving them of the means of subsistence, as by his means they were deprived of food, and stood in danger of starvation.

CH. LXX.—*How those who were once delicate ate grass.*

WHEREVER by chance grass was discovered growing, it was greedily devoured by men who once were brought up delicately, men of high rank and the sons of great men; they fed on grass like beasts, that the violence of famine might be extinguished by such food, whence many, led to reason by necessity, planted herbs fit for eating and good for driving away the pangs of hunger; and such as they once despised and believed not fit for human use, the greatness of the famine made now most sweet to the starving. Oh! then, the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis! because he cared not for the misery of a starving people.

CH. LXXI.—*How they perish from rain and hunger.*

MOREOVER, owing to the great quantity of rain that fell, a certain very severe disease spread among the men; for unusual

showers, by their constant and continuous fall, had such an injurious effect upon the soldiers, that, with the excess of the affliction, their limbs becoming swollen, the whole body was affected as with the dropsy, and from the violence of the disease, the teeth of some of them were loosened and fell out. O the lamentations of each of them! O the sorrow of all! while those who were safe grieved for the sufferings of their comrades, and day by day saw the funerals of their friends, for every day they performed the rites of a thousand who had perished. Some, however (but they were few), recovered from their disease, and becoming more eager after food, regained health only to suffer the excessive miseries of famine. O, then, the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis, for he cared not for the sufferings of the perishing people!

CH. LXXII.—*How our starving men fought at the oven.*

WHEREVER it was known that bread was baking at the oven, there was a concourse of the people crying out and saying, "Here is money; we will give what price you please, so that you give us plenty of bread." For each asked to be served first, offering a price in exchange for bread, and each violently struggling to snatch from the others what they had not yet received, and perhaps never would. But as often as it happened that any of the rich bought much bread, then arose mourning, and sorrow, and clamour among the poor, united in one voice of wailing, when they saw that quantity of bread carried away by the rich, which, if distributed in portions, might have done good to the poor as far as it would go. They eagerly offered the price of the bread at the will of the seller; but, because any moderate quantity was not enough for so great a multitude, there arose frequent and angry disputes, quarrels, contentions, jealousies, and sometimes fights around the oven which contained the bread. and they contended for it like dogs before they were sure of obtaining it. O, then, the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis, for he cared not for the wretchedness of a perishing people!

CH. LXXIII.—*How they gnawed and ate up dirty bones which had been already gnawed by dogs.*

BUT who can write or set forth how great their misery was—how great the general suffering, when some were seen from the pressure of famine running about like rabid dogs and snatching up bones that had been gnawed by dogs for three days together, and sucking and licking them when there was nothing on them to be gnawed, not because they did them any good, but because they gratified the imagination with the remembrance of flesh? What need we add to these horrors? The enemy, harassing them by constant attacks from both sides, when they slew them suddenly, were held less terrible than the violence of so great a famine; for the former put an end to their lives and their miseries by the edge of the sword and at once, whereas by the famine they pined away in lengthened torments. Oftentimes, in the sight of all, they whom hunger had stripped of shame, fed upon abominable and filthy things, found by chance, and which cannot be named; yet they deemed them delicious food, though unlawful for man to make use of. O the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis, for he cared not for the wretchedness of a perishing people!

CH. LXXIV.—*How noblemen also, when they had not wherewith to buy bread, stole it.*

FROM some other instances worth relating, the magnitude of the famine may be estimated; for in those who endured it patiently according to the flesh, it may be not undeservedly considered martyrdom, unless perchance by murmuring they diminished the credit which they would thus have received. The pressure of necessity moreover led to the commission of many disgraceful acts; and some even of noble extraction, who were on that account ashamed to beg openly, feared not to sin in secret to obtain the subsistence so difficult to get honestly, and were in the habit of stealing bread. Thus it happened that one man was caught in this kind of robbery, and was bound tightly with thongs, in which condition he was placed in custody in the house of the man who had caught him, who was a baker; and while the family was

very much engaged in domestic matters, by some movement or other, the captive managed to get his hands loose, and as he was placed by chance close by a heap of new loaves, he ate his full unperceived by any one, and then escaping with one loaf in his hand, returned unpunished to his friends; and after telling his story distributed the bread he had in his hand to them to eat. But what was this among so many? Want irritated the appetite, and exasperated rather than quieted hunger. O then the voice of the people, cursing the perfidy of the marquis, because he cared not for the wretchedness of a perishing people!

CH. LXXV.—*How many turn apostates from the bitterness of the famine.*

WHAT was still worse, some of our men, and it cannot be told or heard without great grief, gave way to the severity of the famine, and in paying attention to their corporeal safety incurred the damnation of their souls. For after having overcome a great part of their tribulation, some of our men taking refuge among the Turks, did not hesitate to turn apostates, and to procure for themselves by wicked blasphemies eternal death, that they might enjoy a little longer this mortal life. O pernicious exchange! O crime for which no punishment can suffice! O foolish men like unto senseless beasts! while ye fled from the death, which must soon come, you took no care against the death that is without end! For if a just man liveth by faith, perfidy is accounted death, but the conscience of all who act foolishly must be purged. Then they execrate the marquis for breaking his covenant, and imprecate evil on him and mortal woe.

CH. LXXVI.—*How two friends buy thirteen beans for a denier.*

THERE were two friends, comrades in misfortune as well as in war, so needy and distressed that the two possessed only one piece of money, commonly called an angevin, and with that only they wished to purchase something to eat; but what could they do? It was a mere trifle, and worth little, even if there had been abundance of all sorts of good things; and they had nothing else but their armour and clothing. They

considered for a long time very thoughtfully what they should buy with that one little piece, and how it could be done to ward off the pressing evil of the day. They at last came to the resolution of buying some beans, since nothing was to be bought of less value; with difficulty, therefore, they obtained, after much entreaty, thirteen beans for their denier, one of which on returning home they found consumed by maggots, and therefore unfit for eating. Upon this, by mutual agreement, they went a long distance in search of the seller, who consented not without difficulty and after much supplication, to give them a whole bean in exchange. How strange this exchange of such a thing after a long search, and at such a distance! From those beans, which were consumed in a moment, how much benefit do we think could accrue to the hungry? We judge that must be weighed more by the opinion of the hearer than described by the pen. Then they execrated the marquis for the violation of his covenant, and prayed for evil on him and mortal woe.

CH. LXXVII.—*How the famished ate karrubles, and died from drinking wine.*

THERE was exposed for sale a kind of fruit growing on trees; a grain enclosed in a pod like a pea, which the common people called karruble, sweet to the taste, and very pleasant to eat. The hungry were recruited by them, because there was a greater abundance of them than other things, whence the way to buy them was much frequented; for although they were of inferior value, they were something. Of those who lay weak and ate little, either because they had nothing to eat, or because they could not eat, the wine which they drank neated them so much that many were suffocated, either from the violence of the liquor, which was not tempered with food, or from being too weak to support its strength and goodness. There was a tolerable supply of wine for sale, but much wine is not good for the preservation of the body with little food; for it is necessary to proportion the one to the other. But inasmuch as the marquis was the cause of the scarcity, they ceased not to curse him and execrate him for the violation of his covenant, and invoked evil on him and mortal woe.

CH. LXXVIII.—*How the famished ate flesh during Lent.*

SOME were driven by the pressure of the famine to eat flesh in the beginning of Lent, on what is commonly called Ash-Wednesday,—not because they had plenty of it, but because it was more easily obtained: afterwards, however, as the famine slackened, they repented and made proportionate penitence. Above all these things, during the whole of that winter, the charity of all was so cooled by the fear of want of money, that a man did not even share his necessaries with his friend, their little faith leading them to doubt God's love, and to believe that if they shared with others, they themselves would lack the necessaries of life. To such a degree the vice of parsimony, and the concealment of their stores increased, that even they hid what they had, and those that had were thought not to have at all. What did the voice of so many in want then imprecate on the marquis? Who did not think him the cause of so many being in jeopardy?

CH. LXXIX.—*The exhortation of the bishop of Salisbury and some others to the rich, to make collections to assist the poor.*

THE intercourse of the faithful becoming beyond measure checked, and no one taking thought or notice of the poor and needy, the infamy of this want of faith extended itself to all. The bishop of Salisbury was active in shewing that nothing was greater than charity, nothing more acceptable to God, nothing more fruitful than to give; and to this end he induced all, by his powerful persuasion, to open their hands and distribute to their neighbours, to give to the needy, and support the perishing, lest, if they neglected the wants of others, they should not obtain their own; for it is said that he who heeds them not when he may, is the cause of death to the languishing: he shewed that he was guilty of another man's death, who refused to assist him when he could; for we are commanded to give drink to our enemy when thirsty, and to feed him when hungry. And the bishops of Nerrona and Faenza in Italy, earnestly assisted in his exhortation. In consequence of the exhortation and urgency of these men, a collection was made for distribution amongst the poor, and so many and so great were the hearts God moved to con-

tribute to the support of the needy, that the hungry were greatly recruited; and the substance of the givers, also, by the grace of God co-operating, was not diminished. Then arose fresh joy, then the ~~figs~~ of many blessed the givers, then were benefits multiplied, then it is said that pity was turned gratefully towards them, whilst the powerful yearned with compassion over the afflicted. Among the most active in performing these duties, were Watlin de Ferrars and Robert Trusebot, and not behind them were Henry count of Champagne, Jocelin de Montoirs, as well as the count of Clairmont; and the bishop of Salisbury, who was the first promoter of these good deeds.

By the care of these men, aided by the others, every one contributed according to his means to a common fund, that it might be distributed to each as he had need. Thus, those whose hearts were before cold under cover of the ashes of avarice, through God's grace became fervent in deeds of charity, and because they were converted to compassion the Lord regarded and magnified his pity with them, according to his words, "turn unto me and I will turn unto you, saith the Lord."

CH. LXXX.—*How a small ship arrived with provisions, and how that which cost a hundred gold pieces one day, was bought for four on the morrow.*

FOR while all were engaged in these works of charity, behold the Lord sent a ship laden with provisions, by which the former scarcity of food was very much alleviated. For so great a want of bread had not existed because there was no corn, but because the sellers asked such a price for it from the buyers, that it could scarcely be obtained for a large sum after much bargaining; for what will not avarice do? The aforesaid ship, which was but a small one, had arrived, as I think, on a Saturday; and on the morrow, a measure which had been sold hitherto for a hundred pieces of gold, by the bounty of God, the dispenser of all good things, was lowered to four. Meanwhile there arises among the people an unusual hilarity, the avaricious merchants being the only persons who grieved, owing to the decrease of their wonted gain, and with difficulty concealing it. But why need I say more? There is no counsel against the Lord, for he doeth whatsoever he will.

CH. LXXXI.—*How, when a Pisan wished to keep his provisions till the morrow, his house and provisions were consumed by fire.*

A CERTAIN Pisan, a seller of provisions, had kept some corn untouched during the whole year, until he could sell it according to his wishes hereafter, expecting that the famine would increase; and if at any time he sold any, he sold it at his own price, as he liked, to those who could not do without it. But God, by his judgment, shewed the wickedness of this action, for it happened that the house of that Pisan, filled with wheat, suddenly and violently caught fire. And though very many hastened to extinguish the fire, their efforts were ineffectual, for every thing was destroyed.

CH. LXXXII.—*How all vied in giving away meat, and how a penance was enjoined on those who ate what was unlawful.*

ALL therefore being emulously engaged in such works of piety, strove with all their might to distribute alms; while each one in his zeal was eager to outdo his neighbours in bounty, thinking that he was performing an acceptable duty to God, if he could more abundantly administer what was necessary to the needy. Those also, who from necessity fed on flesh during Lent, as we before said, repenting of their guilt, after each had received penitence from the illustrious and venerable bishop of Salisbury, undertook with a vow to perform proportionate satisfaction as was enjoined them.

BOOK II.

CH. I.—*Of the kings of England and France.*

AFTER Easter arrived Philip, king of France, and not long after him, Richard, king of England; but in order that the course of their voyage may be more fully known, it seems advisable to commence our history from their first departure from their kingdoms, so that it may be set forth, in the due order of events, until it reaches the period of the siege of Acre.

*-Of the emulation of the French and the English in taking
the Cross.*

When report, then, had spread these events, as we have described, throughout the world, that the cities of the Holy Land were in possession of infidels; that the holy relics were scornfully treated and trodden under foot; and that the Christians were plundered and despoiled, the empires were moved by the most strenuous exhortation of Pope Gregory VIII.; and many men of various nations were aroused, and above all, the French and English devoutly took up the sign of the cross, and prepared with all their strength to hurry to the aid of the Holy Land, being incited like David to take vengeance on the Philistines, who were defying, with their Goliath, the oppressed armies of the God of Jerusalem. For the chief pontiff earnestly stimulated all to obtain by these means pardon for their sins, and according to the authority with which he was invested, gave them absolution from the guilt of their past transgressions, if they would devote themselves to the performance of so pious and so necessary a work; proving to them that they would deservedly be the happier for undertaking the mission at once, in fervent zeal and without delay. Yea, their journey would be the more praiseworthy, and their endeavours many times more excellent, in behalf of a place, though desolate, yet rendered holier by the divine mystical promise, and which was consecrated by the nativity, dwelling, and passion of our Lord. Moreover, it was distinguished, by the divine choice, from every other nation; and being his dwelling, ought to be snatched from the heathen, of whom the Lord had said, "that they should not enter into His Church." They hastened, therefore, with ready zeal and pious emulation to take the cross at the hands of the clergy; so that the question was, not *who* should take it up, but *who* had *not* already done so. The voice of song was now silenced, the pleasures of eating and luxurious habits were abandoned, the quarrels of disputants quieted; new peace was made between old enemies, causes of litigation were settled by mutual agreement, and for this new ground of quarrel, every one who had cause of dispute, even for long-standing enmity, was reconciled to his neighbour. What need is there to say more? By the inspiration of God, all were of one

accord, for one common cause led them to undertake the labour of this pious pilgrimage.

CH. III.—*How Henry, king of England, and Philip, king of France, with an immense multitude, took up the cross between Gisors and Trie.*

RICHARD, then count of Poitou, was the first to take up the cross, and an immense multitude with him; but they did not set out on their pilgrimage, owing to some delay, occasioned by a dispute between Philip, king of France, and Henry, king of England, the father of Count Richard. An inveterate dispute had excited them to international war, as it had done their ancestors, the French and Normans, from an inexorable and almost uninterrupted feud. The archbishop of the land of Jerusalem, that is of Tyre,* was earnest to effect a reconciliation between them, and had fixed the day they were to meet, to take up the cross, at a place between Gisors and Trie. The aforesaid archbishop had come on a mission to animate the faithful, and obtain assistance for the deliverance of the Holy Land, having been specially sent to the king of England, the fame of whose virtues was spread far and wide above all the other kings of the earth, on account of his glory, riches, and the greatness of his power. On that day, after many plans had been proposed, and much spoken on either side, they both came finally to the determination that each of them should take up the cross, and depart from his land, it appearing to each a safe precaution against the one invading the kingdom of the other, while absent, for neither would venture to go unless the other went also. At length, these conditions having been, with some difficulty, agreed on, the two kings exchanged the kiss of peace, and assumed the cross with the blessing of the archbishop, and with them an immense number of both nations, partly from the love of God and for the forgiveness of their sins, partly from respect for their king; and so great was the multitude that took up the cross on that day, that the people, from the crush and intolerable heat (for it was summer) nearly fainted. The delay in entering upon their march must be reprehended; it was the work of the enemy of the human race, whose interest it is to foment discord, and excite inexorable enmity, and by whose

* This was William of Tyre, the author of the well-known history of the earlier period of the Crusades.

instigation, the altercation between the kings was revived, and the seeds of discord sown from a very light occasion, that by their diabolical superstition neither was inclined to forego, lest, as it were, his fame and honour should be derogated thereby, as if it were abject and mean to yield obedience to justice and right.

CH. IV.—*Henry, king of England, dies.*

THE death of Henry, king of England, (put an end to these dissensions,) and the vow of making the crusade, which he had deferred fulfilling while in safety, after a lapse of time, could not be performed, by the intervention of his death. As a vow must be entirely voluntary, so when taken, it must irrefragably be discharged; and he who binds himself by a vow is to be condemned for the non-performance of it, as he could not have made it lawfully, but of his own accord and free-will. Now King Henry died on the day of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, in the year of our Lord 1189, and was buried at Fontevrault.

CH. V.—*How Richard, count of Poitou, was crowned king of England.*

THEREFORE in the same year, after the death of his father, Richard, count of Poitou, having arranged his affairs in Normandy, in about two months crossed over to England, and on St. Giles's day he was received at Westminster, with a ceremonious procession; and three days afterwards, viz., on the 3rd of September, the day of the ordination of St. Gregory the pope, which was a Sunday, he was solemnly anointed king by the imposition of hands, by Archbishop Baldwin, in virtue of his office, who performed the service, assisted by many of his suffragans. At his coronation were present his brother John, and his mother Eleanor, who, after the death of King Henry, had been, by the command of her son Richard, the new king, released from prison, where she had been ten years; and there were also present counts and barons, and an immense crowd of men and soldiers; and the kingdom was confirmed to the hands of King Richard. On the 3rd day of September, in the year of our Lord 1189, Richard was anointed king, on a Sunday, with the dominical letter.

viz., in the year after leap year. Many were the conjectures made, because the day above that was marked unlucky in the calendar; and in truth it was unlucky, and very much so to the Jews of London, who were destroyed that day, and likewise the Jews settled in other parts of England endured many hardships. Having therefore celebrated the occasion by a festival of three days, and entertained his guests in the royal palace of Westminster, King Richard gratified all, by distributing money, without count or number, to all according to their ranks, thus manifesting his liberality and his great excellence. His generosity, and his virtuous endowments, the ruler of the world should have given to the ancient times; for in this period of the world, as it waxes old, such feelings rarely exhibit themselves, and when they do, they are subjects of wonder and astonishment. He had the valour of Hector, the magnanimity of Achilles, and was equal to Alexander, and not inferior to Roland in valour; nay, he outshone many illustrious characters of our own times. The liberality of a Titus was his, and, which is so rarely found in a soldier, he was gifted with the eloquence of Nestor and the prudence of Ulysses; and he shewed himself pre-eminent in the conclusion and transaction of business, as one whose knowledge was not without active good-will to aid it, nor his good-will wanting in knowledge. Who, if Richard were accused of presumption, would not readily excuse him, knowing him for a man who never knew defeat, impatient of an injury, and impelled irresistibly to vindicate his rights, though all he did was characterized by innate nobleness of mind. Success made him better fitted for action; fortune ever favours the bold, and though she works her pleasure on whom she will, (Richard was never to be overwhelmed with adversity.) He was tall of stature, graceful in figure; his hair between red and auburn; his limbs were straight and flexible; his arms rather long, and not to be matched for wielding the sword or for striking with it; and his long legs suited the rest of his frame; while his appearance was commanding, and his manners and habits suitable; and he gained the greatest celebrity, not more from his high birth than from the virtues that adorned him. But why need we take much labour in extolling the fame of so great a man? He needs no superfluous commendation, for he has a sufficient meed of praise, which is the

sure companion of great actions. He was far superior to all others both in moral goodness, and in strength, and memorable for prowess in battles, and his mighty deeds outshone the most brilliant description we could give of them. Happy, in truth, might he have been deemed had he been without rivals who envied his glorious actions, and whose only cause of enmity was his magnificence, and his being the searcher after virtue rather than the slave of vice.

CH. VI.—*How King Richard, having arranged the affairs of his kingdom, celebrated the Nativity of Christ at Liuns, in Normandy, and how, by agreement, he and the king of France met on the feast of St. John the Baptist at Vezelai.*

AFTER the coronation-feast was ended, as we before said, King Richard arose in his father's stead, and, after having received the oath of allegiance from the nobles, as was the custom, in the form of homage, and each having submitted to his sovereignty, he left London and went round his country; and afterwards he set out on a pilgrimage to St. Edmund, whose festival was at hand; thence he went to Canterbury, and at his command some bishoprics, which, having become vacant, had been kept so by the king his father, were filled up, and, with the approval of the king, the following were installed bishops: Richard the treasurer, of London; Godfrey de Luci, of Winchester; Hubert Walter, of Salisbury, William de Longchamp, of Ely, whom the king also made his chancellor and justiciary of all England. In like manner, also, the king caused bishops to be ordained to the vacant bishoprics in his other territories. Having prepared every thing necessary for his journey, and having set the kingdom of England in order as far as time permitted, he returned to Normandy without delay, and kept the festival of the Nativity of Our Lord at Liuns; for his intention of setting out upon his journey and the fulfilment of his vow made him unceasingly anxious, as he judged delay to be dangerous, whilst it was of consequence to commence the journey which was due: wherefore he wrote to the king of France that he was quite ready to set out, and urged that he should be ready also, shewing by his father's example that delay was hurtful when every thing was prepared. Therefore, in the year of our Lord 1190, with the dominical letter G, the kings met at Dreux to confer about the arrangement of their journey. After many had communicated

their opinions, and while the conference was going on, there suddenly arrived a messenger with the news that the queen of France was dead. The king, smitten by the bitterness of this news, was greatly cast down, so that he almost thought of laying aside his premeditated journey; and to augment this bereavement, news was brought that William, king of Apulia, was likewise dead. Overwhelmed by these adverse occurrences, and utterly overcome by the belief that they predicted ill, they abstained from the transaction of the business, and the fire of their zeal in a measure grew lukewarm. However, by the favour of the inspiration of God, who guideth the footsteps of man, and in whose hands are the hearts of kings, to prevent the ruin of a work planned with so much toil and solemnly arranged, and the turning into condemnation and disgrace what had been disposed for the attainment of good, they recovered their strength, and were animated to proceed and set out, and not to grow lukewarm by unpardonable slothfulness. Now they had agreed together to set out on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in order that the kings, together with their men, should meet on the eighth day at Vezelai. Whereupon Philip, king of France, setting out from the city of Paris, which is the capital of France, with a large quantity of provisions, shortly afterwards marched by the chapel of St. Denis, to whose prayers and merits he commended himself, and thus commenced his journey accompanied by a very large multitude. There also set out with him on his journey, the duke of Burgundy and the count of Flanders. Who can relate the progress of each with their forces? You might meet them on all sides flocking together and assembling from different parts, and joining together in one army, amidst pious tears; while those who went forward with their friends or kinsmen, regarded them with a look of love, and on their departure were unable to restrain the tears from bursting forth, as devotion or sorrow affected them. ✓

CH. VII.—*How King Richard, being at Tours, commanded his fleet to proceed and go round Spain by the Straits, and wait for him at Messina.*

KING Richard was at Tours with a chosen body of soldiers. Both the city and suburbs were so crowded with the multitude of men that they inconvenienced each other from the crowd

and the narrowness of the streets and roads. Therefore, by the command of the king, the royal fleet, being collected together, was ordered to proceed in order, being in number a hundred and eight, not including the ships that followed afterwards. Thus the royal fleet, having been set forward on its voyage by the command of the king, with a fair wind and in close company, reached the destined port of Messina, after having safely escaped the dangerous sandbanks, and the perils of the terrible rocks, the stormy straits of Africa, and all the dangers of the ocean. Here they awaited the arrival of the king, according to his command, who was marching with his army by land. When the king departed from Tours with his forces, the inhabitants of the land were terrified by the appearance of so great a multitude. Who could relate the numbers of those who accompanied him, the variety of their arms, the trains of nobles and chosen bands of combatants? Or who could describe the troops of infantry and their bodies of slingers, which those who saw as they advanced in order, from their inmost hearts, and with pious zeal forcing out the tears, equally mourned and congratulated their lord the new king, who thus, at the commencement of his reign, without having tasted the sweets of rest, so devotedly and so speedily left all pleasures, and, as if chosen by the Lord, he undertook a work of so great goodness, so arduous and so necessary, and a journey so commendable. O the miserable sighs for those that left them! O the groans of those who embraced at parting! and the good wishes for those who were going away! O the eyes heavy with tears, and the mutual sobs interrupting the words of the speakers amidst the kisses of those who were dear to them, not yet satisfied with the conversation of those who were leaving them; and although they grieved, those who were setting out feigned equanimity by the gravity of their countenances, and separated from each other, after long conversations, as if choking for utterance, and often interchanging a farewell, staid a little longer, and repeated it to gain delay and to appear about to say something more; and at last, tearing themselves from the voices of those that cheered them, they bounded forward and extricated themselves from the hands of those who would detain them.

CH. VIII.—*How the two kings, according to agreement, met at Vezelai.*

THUS, in the first year of his coronation, Richard, king of England, set out from Tours on his journey. From Tours he marched to Luti, then to Mount Richard; after that to Celles, thence to Chapelles, thence to Dama, thence to Vitiliacum, that is, Vezelai, where the two kings and their forces were to meet. And because the people of both nations were reckoned to be incalculably numerous, the mountains, far and wide, were spread with pavilions and tents, and the surface of the earth around was covered, so that the level of the sowed fields which were occupied, presented to the beholder the appearance of a city, with its effect heightened by a most imposing variety of pavilions, and by the different colours that distinguished them. There you might see the martial youth of different nations equipped for war, which appeared able to subdue the whole length of the earth, and to overcome the countries of all the world, and to penetrate the retreat of different tribes, and judge no place too hard or no enemy too fierce to conquer; and that they would never yield to wrong while they could aid and assist each other by the help of their valour. That army, boasting in its immense numbers, well protected by the defence of their arms, and glowing with ardour, was scattered by the intervention of disputes, and overthrown by internal discord, which, if combined with military discipline and good-will, would have remained invincible to all without; and thus, by the violation of the ties of fellowship, it met with a heavier downfall, whilst it was distracted by its own friends; for a house divided against itself is made desolate.

CH. IX.—*How the two kings entered into a treaty at Vezelai, and agreed to wait for each other at Messina, and how they arrived together at Lyons on the Rhone.*

THERE the two kings made a treaty for their mutual security, and for preserving good faith with each other in every respect, and for inquiring into all things according to the rights of war, with a view to their equal division. Besides that, it was agreed that he who should arrive first at Messina was to wait for the other to follow; after which, each of their friends who had followed them so far on

their pilgrimage should return home. The two kings set forward with their men, and arranged the manner of their march, holding frequent intercourse with great magnificence, and paying each other mutual honour; and being also of one accord, the mighty army, during the progress of their march, performed their duties without complaint or dissension,—nay, with joy and alacrity. And as they thus passed along cities and villages with a mighty equipment and clash of arms, the inhabitants, observing the multitude, and marking the distinctions of the men by the place of each nation in the march, and noticing their discipline, exclaimed, “O heaven! what meaneth so great a multitude of men, and so mighty an army? Who can resist their valour? O noble soldiery in the flower of their youth! O young men, happy in so much beauty! Were your parents affected with sorrow at your departure? What land gave birth to youths of so distinguished a mien, or produced such fine young soldiers? And who are the rulers of so mighty a multitude that govern with their word such brave legions?” Uttering these words, and such like, and following with good wishes those that passed, they paid the most marked attention to the people of different nations and those who were fatigued by the march, by testifying all the devotion in their power. Thus the army proceeding in order by separate divisions, went joyfully from Vezelai to St. Leonard of Curbeny, thence to Mulins, afterwards to Mount Escot, then to Tulnis, near St. Mary de Bois, thence to Belivi, afterwards to the village of Furaca, and thence to Lyons on the Rhone; there they stopped some days, owing to the difficulty of crossing the river from its rapidity and unknown depth; so that the army which had come in the interim might cross over, and wait the arrival of those who were to follow. Having at length crossed the river, the two kings pitched their pavilions on the other side in the meadows: as many of the army as it could contain lodged in the town; the others in the fields in the suburbs. There you might see people of different nations, distinguished by their proper places and by the forms of their arms, in countless numbers; for they were reckoned to exceed a hundred thousand, and recruits had not yet ceased to flock in. Afterwards, the king of England followed up his show of friendship and honour to the king of

France, on his departure with all his troops for Genoa. For the king of France had engaged the Genoese, who were good seamen, to carry him over the gulf. For they had agreed, as has been afore said, that whichever first put in at Messina in Sicily, should await the arrival of the other.

CH. X.—*How, after the departure of the king of France to Genoa, the bridge over the Rhone gave way from the pressure of the crowd, and how King Richard embarked at Marseilles and crossed over to Messina.*

WHILE the crowd of pilgrims, who came in constantly from all quarters, was incautiously hastening to cross the bridge over the Rhone, a part of it gave way under their weight, with those who were on it, and, as it was of considerable elevation, about a hundred men fell into the water, which was very violent, and its course rapid, and owing to its depth, it was difficult for any who had fallen in to get out alive. But they who fell in cried out loudly, and implored assistance; and, wonderful to relate, though exhausted, they all escaped save two, who were drowned, and experienced death of the body, though they live spiritually in Christ, in whose service they were. Those who came behind were embarrassed by their numbers, as each sought his own way or means of crossing the Rhone; but they were thrown into despair by the breaking down of the bridge, which seemed to cut off their hopes of reaching the other side. On learning this, King Richard, whose constancy was never shaken, relieved their anxiety by causing a bridge to be made, by collecting as quickly as possible a number of boats together, such as the urgent necessity of the case should suggest; and so they crossed over, after some delay and difficulty. This accident caused a delay of three days to the king and his army: one part then proceeded to the nearest port, Marseilles; part went to Venice; part to Genoa, or Barlata, or Brundisium; and very many set out for Messina, the port where the two kings were to meet. Three days afterwards, the king departed, and on the same day the bridge was broken up. From Lyons we crossed by Vicaria near Alba Ripa, thence to Mount Galonte, afterwards to St. Bernard of Rumaux, then by Valence, afterwards by Ariola, after that to Valois, thence to St. Paul of Provence; we afterwards passed through Mount Drague and Orange, and then cross-

ing Mount Sorgre, we came to Dompas, near Avignon, then by Tenaiz, then by Salus and Marignan near the sea, and thence to Marseilles, where we stayed three weeks; then we embarked the day after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first year of King Richard's coronation, and passed between two islands, of which Sardinia, one of them, was on our right, Corsica, the other, on our left: here there is a great strait of the sea. We then passed between two burning mountains, one called Vulcano, the other Strango, and by Farus, a very perilous stream, and then arrived at the city of Messina, where the fleet of King Richard lay, which he sent forward, as we have said before.

CH. XI.—*Of the city of Messina, and of the queen, sister to King Richard, and of her dowry from Tancred.*

You must know that the city of Messina is filled with abundance of good things; its situation is pleasant and very agreeable; it lies on the confines of Sicily and Rasa, which was said to have been given to the famous Agoland, for his services. Thus the city of Messina stands the first in Sicily for affluence and wealth; but its inhabitants are a wicked and cruel race. Their king, Tancred, was very rich in every kind of wealth, which his predecessors, from the time of Robert Guiscard, had amassed. At the same time, the queen of Apulia, having lost her husband, William, was staying at Palermo; for King William had died without an heir, and his queen with her dowry was in ward of the same King Tancred, who had succeeded King William on the throne. This dowager queen was sister to Richard, king of England, who taking up her cause, forced King Tancred to give condign satisfaction, over and above the dowry that was due to her.

CH. XII.—*Of the injuries which the Griffons at Messina did to our men before the arrival of King Richard.*

THE noble fleet of the king of England, as we have said before, waited here the arrival of their sovereign,—a fleet wonderful for its numbers, complement, and the splendour of its array, and the like of which none was ever seen fitted out with such labour, and so numerous, besides the various classes of men that belonged to it, stationed on the shore in pavilions

and tents of different forms ; for they kept apart from the city, until the arrival of King Richard, on account of the overbearing insolence of its citizens. For this wicked people, commonly called Griffons, many of whom are of Saracen extraction, hostile to our men, annoyed them by repeated insults, by pointing their fingers into their eyes, and calling them stinking dogs, and mocking them in many other ways, privately killing some of them, and throwing others into the sewers, of which crime many of them were afterwards convicted. In this manner they upbraided our men, and shewed their hatred by doing them every ill turn they dared ; and if our men attempted to resist, or retaliate, they threatened to drive them entirely from their city, being strangers, and no match for them in numbers or strength ; but the citizens acted in this without foresight, for they forgot that their king was coming.

CH. XIII.—*With what show, first the king of France, then the king of England, arrived in Messina.*

It is a general custom, that when any particular king or prince of the earth, conspicuous for his glory, might, and authority, comes forth in public, his appearance of power shall not fall short of that with which he is actually invested, —nay, it is but right and becoming that the greatness of a king should be shewn in his display and the homage which is paid him ; for a common proverb says, “Such as I see you are, I esteem you.” Moreover the general style and manner is taken from the disposition of the chief. When, therefore, the king of France, of so high renown, whose edict so many princes and nations obeyed, was known to be entering the port of Messina, the natives, of every age and sex, rushed forth to see so famous a king ; but he, content with a single ship, as if to avoid the sight of men, entered the port of the citadel privately, while those who awaited him along the shore conceived this to be a proof of his weakness, and spoke upbraidingly of him as one not likely to be the performer of any great actions who thus slunk from the eye of man ; and being frustrated in their hopes of seeing him, they returned indignant to their homes. But when the report was spread of the arrival of the noble-minded king of England, the people rushed out eagerly

to behold him, crowding along the shore and seating themselves wherever they were likely to catch a glimpse of him. And lo ! they beheld the sea in the distance covered with innumerable galleys ; and the sound of trumpets and clarions, loud and shrill, strike upon the ear ! Then, as they approached nearer, they saw the galleys as they were impelled onward, laden and adorned with arms of all kinds ; their pennons and standards floating in countless numbers in the breeze in good order and on the tops of their spears ; the prow of the galleys distinguished from each other by the variety of the paintings, with shields glittering in the sun, and you might behold the sea boiling from the number of oarsmen who plied it, and the ears of the spectators rang with the peals of the instruments commonly called trumpets, and their delight was aroused by the approach of the varied crowd, when lo ! the magnificent king, accompanied by the crowd of obedient galleys, standing on a prow more elevated and ornamental than the others, as if to see what he had not seen before, or to be seen by the crowds that densely thronged the shore, lands in a splendid dress, where the sailors whom he had sent before him, and others of his equipage, receive him with congratulations, and bring forward the chargers and horses which had been committed to their care for transportation, that he and his suite might mount. The natives crowd round him on all sides, mixed with his own men, and followed him to his hostel. The common people conversed with each other in admiration of his great glory ; and agreed that he was worthy of empire, and deserved to be set over nations and kingdoms, "for the fame of him which we had before heard fell far short of the truth when we saw him." Meanwhile the trumpets blew, and their sounds being harmoniously blended, there arose a kind of discordant concord of notes, whilst the sameness of the sounds being continued, the one followed the other in mutual succession, and the notes which had been lowered were again resounded.

CH. XIV.—*What injuries our men suffered at Messina at the hands of the Lombards.*

WHEN the Griffons saw the kings land in such strength, their arrogance was in part checked, for they perceived that they were their inferiors in valour and appearance ; but

the Lombards* ceased not contumaciously to menace and revile our men and to provoke them by insults, threatening even to attack our camp, to slay us and plunder our goods. They were excited by jealousy on account of their wives, with whom some of our men had talked, more for the purpose of irritating their husbands than with the intention of seducing them. From this quarrel and through envy, the Lombards were aroused, together with the commune† of the city, and were always hostile to us as far as they could, chiefly because they had learnt from their ancestors that they had been subdued by us of yore; whence they did them as much annoyance as they could, at the same time heightening the battlements of their towers, and deepening the fosses that surrounded them. To irritate our men still more, they provoked them by repeated revilings and insulted them with contumelies.

CH. XV.—*How, owing to a loaf of bread which was sold by a woman, a fight took place between us and the Lombards.*

By chance one day it happened that one of our men was bargaining with a woman about a new loaf which she offered for sale; and while they were conversing together and he threatened to have the loaf weighed, the woman, because he would not give her the price she asked, flew into a great passion and insulted him with contumelious and wicked language, and scarcely restrained her hands from striking him or tearing his hair. Immediately a concourse of the citizens flocked together at the noise of the abusive woman, who seized hold of the man and beat him unmercifully; and after tearing out his hair and injuring him in many other ways, they trod him under foot and left him for dead. When complaint was made, King Richard begged for peace and friendship, asserting that he had come in peace, and that he had set out merely to perform a pilgrimage; and he desisted not from praying for peace, until each party, having given a promise to that effect, returned quietly to their abodes.

* It is probable that Vinsauf calls this portion of the population Lombards, because they were occupied in mercantile pursuits. They were not, of course, Lombards by nation.

† It is hardly necessary to state that the commune was the corporate body of the city, probably jealous of their municipal privileges, which the crusaders perhaps had infringed.

CH. XVI.—*How the Lombards attacked King Richard's men, and how King Richard besieged, assaulted, and stormed the city, and raised his standard on the towers, which gave umbrage to the king of France, who was preparing to assist the Lombards.*

BUT by means of that old enemy of the human race, whose part it is to disturb peace and excite sedition, the dispute was renewed on the morrow, so that a more destructive altercation arose between the citizens and the pilgrims. Meanwhile the two kings had a conference with the justiciaries of Sicily and the chief citizens, to treat of peace and security; when behold, a cry arose that the natives were already slaying the men of the king of England; which when the king minded not, chiefly because the Lombards asserted that it was not true, there came a second messenger announcing that the natives had attacked the pilgrims. The Lombards, who had been in the same conflict, persuading him that it was not so, thought to circumvent the king by falsehood: when a third messenger rushed in headlong, exclaiming that such peace was not to be approved of when the sword was actually hanging over their necks. Then the king, hastening without delay from the said conference, mounted on horseback, and went out with the design of putting a stop to the quarrel and making peace between the wranglers. There were two Lombards, very cunning and deceitful, at whose instigation the mob of the city had been excited against the pilgrims; who, to conceal their craft by a lie, asserted that they had come thence, and that no harm had been done: their names were Jordan Luppin and Margarit. When King Richard arrived at the spot, the two parties were already at blows, and strove no longer with words, but with fists and bludgeons; and the Lombards now inflamed with rage, instead of yielding to the king's endeavours to separate the combatants, attacked him with contumelious and profane railings; whereupon he, irritated by their mockeries, took up arms, and besieged them in their city. The French, meanwhile, doubtful what their lord the king would do, ran about in search of him here and there; when they saw him come hastily from the place of conference and enter the palace in which he was lodged. There was a general commotion in the city; every one seized upon what came to hand, and they talked boastingly of defending themselves to the last. The

Lombards went to the king of France to implore his aid and assistance, offering to give themselves and their property into his power and will, if he would relieve their city from the assaults of the king of England, and take it into his own subjection. The king of France immediately took up arms, and as we were told by one who knew the truth, answered that he would rather assist the Lombards than the men of the king of England, although he was bound to him by his oath, and had pledged his honour to give him aid and to be faithful to him everywhere. The gates of the city being closed and guards placed along the battlements, there arose a clamour, tumult, and commotion from the assaulters without; while those within ran to arms and seized whatever weapons fury supplied them with to defend themselves. The French having joined themselves with the Lombards, they were animated with one purpose, and acted together as one body. But those without knew not that their associates had thus become their adversaries. Some Lombards had gone out before the gates of the city were shut, to attack the hostel of Hugh le Brun, and obstinately persevered in fighting. The king of England, hearing of it, turned his course thither, and when they saw him coming, they took hastily to flight and were scattered in a moment, like sheep before wolves; after which, their attacks and revilings ceased. The king pursued them as far as a postern of the city, which they made for, not daring to look at, much less resist, him, though the king is said to have had only twenty men when he first attacked them. He slew some of them, however, as they entered the postern. The Lombards, now seeing that the attack had become serious, and that they were besieged in earnest, resisted with all their might, and occupying the battlements of the walls, they hurled down stones and javelins from bows and slings like showers of rain; and impeded their assailants in every way they could, either to put an end to their assaults, or cause them to be less formidable; and thus at the commencement of their impetuous defence, they did much hurt to our men, killing some, bruising others, wounding and shattering the limbs of many; for by the shower of darts, javelins, and stones that were thrown at us, we lost, besides others, three knights, Peter Tireprete, and Matthew de Sauley, and Radulph de Roverei.

Indeed, if they had had the true faith of Christ in them, and a due regard for justice, they might have made a great slaughter of our men, and might have conquered by their numbers; but their arrogance and dishonesty deservedly proved hurtful to them, who had wrought such injury without a cause; for the number of the citizens and others who defended the city was said to exceed fifty thousand. You might there see men making most valorous attacks to force an entrance, some showering darts, and others assaulting the gates; while our galleys from seaward occupied the port opposite the palace, and blockaded the city: but the king of France hindered them from entering the port, and some were destroyed in the attempt. But, on the land side, where the king of England was, a man remarkable for his skill in arms, the attack was closely pressed; some essayed to cut the fastenings of the gates, and not succeeding, they ascended a high hill, close by the city, and by means of a postern, which King Richard, on the second day of his arrival, when going round the walls to reconnoitre with two companions, had observed to be neglected by the citizens, they forced an entrance with great boldness and violence, and having broken down the gates, they admitted the rest of the army into the city. Then they slew or made captive all citizens they met who resisted them, and entered the city in a body; and many, as well Lombards as our men, fell in that conflict. For the citizens, not daring to oppose us as we were now entering and occupying the city, threw down darts from the tops of houses and battlements of towers, and tried in every manner they could to annoy us from the solers, in which they had taken refuge. But our men now marched through the captured city as victors, preceded by King Richard, who was the first in every attack: by his own daring example, he at once gave courage to his own men, and carried dismay amongst the foe. About ten thousand men marched in after him, and plundered the whole city. There you might hear horrible clamours, in a variety of confused tones, on the one side, of our men, urging on the pursuit, on the other, of the flying Lombards, screaming for fear, while they redoubled their blows, and mowed down those who met them with their swords, like corn. When our men entered the houses, the Lombards threw themselves from the house-tops and ran

solders, rather than fall into the hands of their enemies; conscious that by their own inhospitality they had forfeited all claim to mercy. The city was now subdued by force, and no one appeared to make further resistance; what need we say more? King Richard captured Messina by one assault, in less time than a priest could chant the matin service. Many more of the citizens would have fallen, had not King Richard, with an impulse of generosity, ordered their lives to be spared. But who could reckon the sum of money which the citizens lost? All the gold and silver, and whatsoever precious thing was found became the property of the victors. They also set fire to, and burnt to ashes, the enemy's galleys, lest they should escape, and recover strength to resist. The victors also carried off their noblest women. And lo! after this action had been performed, the French suddenly beheld the ensigns and standards of King Richard floating above the walls of the city; at which the king of France was so mortified, that he conceived that hatred against King Richard which lasted during his life, and afterwards led him to the unjust invasion of Normandy.

CH. XVII.—*How the king of France being displeased that the standards of the king of England only should be placed on the city walls, King Richard, humbling himself, allowed the standards of both to be placed there together.*

THE king of France, jealous of the successes of the king of England, and misliking his high spirit, very much grieved that he should not have the glory which the other had gained by the force of his own greatness; for, contrary to the conditions of mutual agreement, and while the army was in the greatest danger, and a great slaughter going on before his eyes, he proffered not a helping hand to the king of England against an obstinate foe, as he was bound by the treaty of alliance. Nay, he resisted as much as he could, and kept him a long time from occupying the entrance of the city where he himself abode. The city being taken, as we said before, and the banners of King Richard planted on the walls, the king of France, by the advice of his council, sent orders to King Richard to take down his standards, and substitute those of France, as an acknowledgment of his superiority. King Richard, indignant at this command, considering what

previously occurred, and bearing in mind the rights of their fellowship, sent no answer, lest he should seem to surrender his right, and the victory should be ascribed not only to one who had been inactive, but to a perjured adversary. At the intercession of mediators, however, the anger of King Richard was at length appeased; an end was put to their wrangling, and yielding to the soothings of his friends, with some difficulty, he, who was held invincible, being overcome by his foes, gave way to the request of the king of France, viz., that he should deliver into his custody the towers he had taken, and place in them guards of *both* nations, until they should learn the sentiments of King Tancred as to what had been done; and he who remained angry and obdurate to threats and boastings was moved by prayers and soothing. The standards of both were, therefore, raised above the walls of the city, until he should try the consistency of the king of France, and proved his friendship.

CH. XVIII.—*How messengers were sent to King Tancred to demand satisfaction and the restoration of the queen's dowry, and how the king of France sends secretly a contrary message.*

It was therefore decreed by common counsel, that King Richard should send messengers to Tancred, king of Sicily, to require satisfaction for the enormous outrage committed by his people, and to ascertain his intentions in regard to what had occurred. Moreover, King Richard commanded King Tancred to give his sister, the queen of Sicily, a sufficient dowry, and the portion of the king her husband's treasure which belonged to her by right, as well as the table of gold, which ought to be equally shared with the wife of him who had possessed it. The duke of Burgundy and Robert de Sabloel, and some others, whose names are lost, were the messengers appointed for this business. Meanwhile, the king of France weighing in his mind the greatness of King Richard, and repining from envy, began to raise a question about the plunder of the city, demanding his portion, according to the covenant they had entered into. Giving vent, therefore, to arrogant and contumelious speeches about these things, because King Richard sternly refused his demand, he ceased not to irritate his spirit to passion by sly insinuations and opprobrious taunts; and he hesitated not to transgress the

terms of the covenant which had been entered into between them, and to shew the hollowness of his friendship. Whereupon King Richard, more from indignation than from any other feeling, determined to reject his friendship, and ordered his ships to be ready to depart with all their baggage; for he had rather, under the guidance and direction of the Lord, proceed alone with his own men to the accomplishment of his pilgrimage, than have any dealings with an envious man; according to the common proverb, "It is better to be alone than to have a bad companion." When, however, this was known to the king of France, the latter procured, by means of mediators, the renewal of their broken friendship and their association as before, with the condition that every thing which was gained hereafter should be equally divided.

CH. XIX.—*How King Tancred made an ambiguous reply, on which the king of England was inflamed with anger; and how the Lombards refused his men provisions.*

MEANWHILE the messengers, in discharge of the business of their mission, inquired the sentiments of King Tancred on the matters in question. But the king replied in ambiguous terms, asserting that he would give satisfaction to the kings by advice of the nobles of the land in proper time, place, and manner, upon all the subjects specified. It was reported that the king of France had by letter exhorted King Tancred not to yield to the demands of the king of England, but to shew himself firm in defending his right in every thing, with the assurance that he would not take part with King Richard against him, but would be faithful to him. If such a message was sent, there was an evidence of it something like the proverb; for King Tancred loaded the messengers of the king of France with presents, while he did not give those of the king of England so much as an egg. Therefore the messengers returned, and when they had reported their answer to the kings, King Richard replied, "There is no need of much talking or long speeches; since King Tancred will not give satisfaction of his own accord, I will endeavour and labour my utmost to correct his faults myself." These quarrels restored the courage of the natives, who, incited by the king of France, endeavoured to injure King Richard and his men as much as they could, and prohibited the supplying

of provisions necessary for so great an army; and ordered that nothing should be exposed for sale, in order that they might thus be compelled to submit themselves to the power of the natives.

CH. XX.—*Of the construction of Mategriffin, and of the discord between the two kings.*

KING RICHARD had expended great labour and diligence in erecting a castle, to which he gave the name of Mategriffin; at which the Griffons were very much exasperated, because this erection they saw was intended for their destruction. The building was now completed on the hill, close by the city, and very convenient for retreat. The army would have suffered much from want of provisions, which were forbidden to be exposed for sale, had they not used those which were brought by the fleet as provision against future wants. The enemy, therefore, did what harm and injury they could to our soldiers; they placed guards over the city by night, and the army in their turn defended themselves from their attacks by keeping watch. Moreover, discord again took possession of the minds of the kings, and the king of France openly shewed himself a favourer of the enemies of King Richard. But the great majority of the nobles were earnest for the renewal of peace, visiting at one time the palace, at another Mategriffin, to try and pacify their anger: but their labour and endeavours were in vain, for each accused the other, and offered to prove that the other was the aggressor, and neither of them would yield to the other's will; the king of France, unwilling to commit himself to the power of an inferior, and so derogate from his own dignity; and King Richard, fearful that the acknowledgment of subjection might lessen the glory of his own deeds.

CH. XXI.—*How King Tancred made peace with King Richard, by giving him 40,000 ounces of gold as a dowry for the queen and the marriage of Arthur; and how the two kings and the citizens made peace.*

THUS matters fluctuated, when King Tancred considering that danger might arise from further discord, and perceiving that King Richard would not desist from his purpose until he had obtained what he wished, sent messengers of noble birth to offer peace, and beg for reconciliation, asserting—very appositely for persuading him—that he was unwilling,

as far as lay in him, to bear the ill-will of so great a man, to the danger of his own people; that he was willing to purchase his alliance with money, and that he would give the queen, sister of King Richard, 20,000 ounces of gold for her dowry, and 20,000 ounces more as a marriage portion for a daughter of his own, a damsel of talent and beauty, to become the wife of his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, if he chose. King Richard, at the earnest request of the messengers on both sides, agreed, and the affair was concluded; the money, viz. 40,000 ounces of gold, was paid, and his sister, the queen, delivered up altogether to her brother's care. And thus, after peace had been agreed upon, and confirmed in writing, all controversy ceased entirely. So when King Richard saw that satisfaction had been given him, as he required, he ordered the money which had been received from King Tancred to be equally divided, and also the money which had been given as a dowry for his sister he divided in like manner, although he was not bound to do so; but he did it from mere liberality, which redounded to his glory and praise, and relieved him in part from the hatred of his adversaries. Finally, by the advice of Walter, archbishop of Rouen, all who should not restore entire whatever silver or gold had been plundered from the city, were laid under an anathema. All things having thus been restored, and to outward appearance peace established, the citizens rejoiced in their safety, and the pilgrims in their tranquillity; the condition of the city was thus rendered secure, and penal laws made against the disturbers of the peace. The citizens had free intercourse with the pilgrims, without either quarrelling or giving offence; all rejoiced exceedingly, and henceforth provisions, for both man and horse, were exposed for sale, at a very reasonable price. The friendship of the kings was also renewed, and by the intervention of justice, universal goodwill was restored. But though in outward appearance the king of France dissembled his feelings, the rivalry which had been once engendered continued immortal in his mind, and throwing a veil over his envy at the illustrious deeds of King Richard, he concealed the cunning of the fox beneath an unmoved exterior.

CH. XXII.—*How King Tancred and King Richard meet at the city of Fatina.*

MEANWHILE, King Tancred, who was residing at that time at Palermo, not a little astonished at the fame of the magnificence and glory of King Richard's deeds, sent ambassadors of noble birth to invite him to an interview at the city of Fatina. He very much desired to behold the face of the man whom he much admired for the report of his magnanimity and valour. Now the city of Fatina was situated midway between Messina and Palermo, and King Richard assenting, went to meet him at the appointed place, with a splendid company of his nobles. And when they had met according to appointment, each was exceedingly rejoiced at the arrival of the other, and strove to shew every mutual civility, and they entered into a treaty of friendship; by which they bound themselves to preserve peace between each other, and having exchanged gifts of royal magnificence, they concluded the ceremony in a becoming manner, and separated, King Tancred returning to Palermo, and King Richard to Messina.

CH. XXIII.—*How King Richard bestows most ample gifts on his soldiers and others who had been impoverished by his stay there.*

MEANWHILE, the soldiers, who had been at great expense during the summer while the aforesaid troubles and disturbances were going on, liked not so long, so idle, and so useless a delay. For they considered that their brethren in Christ were constantly engaged in contests at the siege of Acre, and that they had already spent the greater part of their substance, and had even been compelled to restore what they acquired by plundering the captured city. King Richard, being moved by the prevalence of complaints of this kind, with royal munificence bestowed gifts on all that needed it, beyond their expectation, so that each one was most sufficiently enriched according to his rank. The knights were amply relieved by these gifts, whether of gold or silver, or any other kind; and even noble women of Palestine, who had been deprived of their inheritance and exiled, both widows and virgins, were bountifully enriched. King Richard thus obtained the gratitude and favour of all, for he gave the foot-soldiers and attendants of inferior rank a hundred sols at least. The king of France, also allured by his example,

bestowed very many gifts on his own men. Hence fresh joy reigned among the people, and those who had been broken down by sorrow were raised up by such generous magnificence.

CH. XXIV.—*Of the great feast given by King Richard at Mategriffin, on Christmas Day, to which he invited the king of France and all his people, and of his splendid gifts.*

THE great festival of Christmas was at hand, kept with the greater solemnity as it was the more needful for the redemption of the human race. In honour of this festival, King Richard invited, with all respect, the king of France to dinner, and by the public crier called upon every soul to pass that day with him in joy and gladness. At his courteous request, the king of France came with an innumerable band of nobles, and a crowd of others. He labours not much who compels a willing person; and we cannot suppose many were absent from King Richard's feast. They were, therefore, received with honour into the castle of Mategriffin, which he had built against the will of the natives, and where every one sat down according to his rank. Who could count the variety of dishes which were brought in, or the different kinds of cups, or the crowds of servants in splendid attire? which, if any one wishes to do, let him measure in his mind the magnanimity of King Richard, and then he can understand the kind of feast which would be prepared. You might have seen there nothing unbecoming or inapposite—nothing which was not of value and commendable; for the dishes and platters on which they were served were of no other material or substance than gold or silver, and all the vessels were of wrought gold or silver, with images of men and beasts worked thereon with the chisel or the file, and adorned with precious stones. Moreover, their joyous countenances were conspicuous above all, and gave grace to the festival; and the guests were entertained with the cheerfulness of the entertainers over and above the variety and abundance of meat and drink. After the feast was at an end, King Richard set before the king of France the most beautiful cups, and gave him his choice in honour of the occasion, and gave to each of the nobles presents according to his rank; for like Titus, with whose hand he lavished his wealth, he thought that the day was lost on which he happened to have given nothing

CH. XXV.—*How the Pisans and the Genoese attack the guards of King Richard's fleet.*

It happened at that time that some Pisans and Genoese, heated with wine, and disturbed by some cause or other, attacked the guards of King Richard's fleet in a hostile manner, and from the vehement nature of their assault a great number were killed on both sides. On the morrow, as if grieving that they had not wrought their full malice the day before, they returned to the attack, and while they were fiercely engaged, King Richard came upon them hastily, and with difficulty restraining the combatants, forced them to separate.

CH. XXVI.—*Of the arrival of Queen Eleanor and Berengaria, the future wife of King Richard, and of the departure, first, of the king of France, and then of the king of England, for the Holy Land.*

THEREFORE, in the year of our Lord 1191, with the dominical letter E, after the stormy months of the more idle season of winter, when brighter days were coming on, the people, who were wearied with slothful delay, hailed with joy the arrival of the season for navigation; for the kings had stayed in the city of Messina from the feast of St. Michael until after Lent. They therefore held a conference about the transportation of their men, alleging the inconvenience of further delay, both on account of the presence of fine weather, and because their means would fail if spent in useless idleness, and because their friends at Acre were suffering from want of them, and they were grieved at having given them such tardy help. While, therefore, each was preparing to proceed on his journey, couriers arrived who informed Richard that his mother Eleanor was hastening after him, and having completed her journey, was close at hand; and that she was bringing with her the noble damsel, daughter of the king of Navarre, named Berengaria, the intended wife of King Richard. A long time previous, while yet count of Poitou, he had been charmed by the graces of the damsel and her high birth, and felt a passion for her; on which account her father, the king of Navarre, had committed her to the care of King Richard's mother to be carried to him, in order that he might marry her before crossing the sea as he intended. All rejoiced at their coming. Meanwhile the king of France, having made

ready with all his equipment, taking advantage of a favourable wind, set out with all his fleet, on the Saturday after the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and King Richard accompanied him some way in his galleys, with his noblest peers. But he himself was not ready to cross the sea, for he had not yet collected all his transport-ships; and he thought that they were not sufficiently provisioned: moreover, he had heard that his mother was coming with the illustrious Berengaria. When, therefore, he had let the king of France go on his voyage in peace, crossing past the Faro he came to Risa, where he heard that the queen his mother and Berengaria were, and having taken them on board with great joy, he returned to Messina; where having stayed a short time, he let his mother depart, and committed to her the care of his kingdom, together with Walter, archbishop of Rouen, as we have said before, a man of great virtue. And with them returned Guilbert de Gascul, by whose treachery the king of France afterwards gained possession of the celebrated castle of Gisors, situated in a very strong position on the confines of France and Normandy, which had been committed to his safe-keeping. But King Richard retained with him the aforesaid damsel, whom he was about to marry. Queen Eleanor returned by Bourges, and thence to Salerna, and thus to Normandy. But King Richard, having furnished himself with every thing necessary for the voyage, prepared, according to agreement, to follow after the king of France as quickly as he could; and appointed Robert de Torneham to conduct and take care of the fleet. He sent forward his betrothed, with his sister the dowager queen of Sicily, in advance, in one of the ships which are commonly called dromons, keeping a course direct to the east; he had also placed some knights on board, and a numerous retinue of servants, for their comfort and safe-keeping. These kind of vessels are slower than others, on account of their burthen, but of stronger make. The multitude of the galleys remained immoveable, until the king, having dined, on account of the annoyances which had happened, bade farewell, with all his army, to the natives, and was on the point of setting out and committing himself to favourable winds and the waves of the sea. Then the whole multitude of ships was launched into the sea, impelled by numerous oarsmen. The city of Messina might justly boast

that so great a fleet had never in past ages quitted those shores; and that they never will see there such a one again. Therefore, on the seventeenth day after the departure of the king of France, *i. e.* on the Wednesday after Palm Sunday, King Richard followed with a numerous fleet of ships, and passing amid the Faro with a fair breeze, some by sailing, some by rowing, they came out into the deep,—the dromons, however, keeping them in the rear as Richard had planned, in order that, as far as it was possible to avoid it, they should not part company, unless they were accidentally separated by the tides; while the galleys purposely relaxed their speed and kept pace with the ships of burthen, to guard their multitude and protect the weaker.

CH. XXVII.—*Of the winds that were at one time calm, at another agitating the sea, and the dangers which King Richard sustained as far as Crete, and from Crete to Rhodes.*

THE wind all at once began to fall gradually, so that the fleet was compelled to remain motionless at anchor between Calabria and Mount Gibello; but on the morrow, *i. e.* the day of the Lord's Supper, He who withdraws and sends forth the winds from his treasures, sent us a wind which continued the whole day, not too strong, but impelling the fleet at a moderate speed; but after that it abated altogether on the following night. But on Holy Friday, a contrary wind arising, drove it back to the left, and the sea being very much agitated thereby, boiled up from the very depths, while the waves beat together, and the storm increased; the roar of the dashing waves, and the ships creaking with the violence of the wind, struck all with no small terror, and from the excessive fury of the latter, all management of the ships was at an end; for no pilot could steer them while tossing to and fro in such a manner. They were borne hither and thither; their line was broken, and they went different ways. The crews committed themselves to the guidance of the Lord, despairing of earthly aid; but as far as human weakness permitted, we determined to bear all things with patience, under the eye of our Saviour, who on that day had suffered so undeserved a death for our sakes. And as the ships were tossed to and fro, and dispersed divers ways, men's stomachs began to feel a qualm, and were affected by a violent nausea; and this

feeling of sickness made them almost insensible to the dangers around ; but towards evening, it grew by degrees calm, and the fury of the winds and waves abated. A favourable wind now springing up, according to our wishes, and the sailors having recovered their strength and confidence, we strove to keep a direct course for our voyage. King Richard, unmoved amid this state of confusion, never ceased to animate those who were dispirited, and bid them take courage, and hope for better fortune ; moreover he had as usual a very large wax-light in a lantern, hoisted aloft in his ship to give light to the rest of the fleet and direct them in their way. He had on board most experienced sailors, who did every thing which human art could do to oppose the fury of the winds. All, therefore, as far as they could, followed the light burning in the king's ship. The king remained stationary some time to collect his fleet, which congregated together by seeing the light, so that the king resembled a hen gathering together her chickens. After that, we started with a favourable wind, and sailed along, without obstacle or injury, on the Saturday of the Passover, as well as on the day of the festival, and until the following Wednesday. That day we came in sight of Crete, where the king put in to repose and collect his fleet. When the ships had come together, twenty-five were found missing, at which the king was much grieved. Among the steep mountains of this island of Crete, is one raised above the others, like a lofty summit, which is called the Camel, which sailors acquainted with those seas say is exactly midway between Messina in Sicily, and Acre in Palestine. On the morrow, being Thursday, the king and all his army entered their ships ; when the wind began to rise stronger, and though favourable, was very vehement in impelling us forward, for we moved rapidly along, with sails swelled out and mast slightly bent, not unlike the flight of birds. The wind, which slackened not all night, at dawn of day drove our fleet violently upon the island of Rhodes : there was no port, and the surf stretched along the shore ; however, we enjoyed there our rest the better for having wished for it so earnestly, from that day until the following Monday, when we put in at Rhodes. Rhodes was anciently a very large city, not unlike Rome ; though its extent can scarcely be estimated, there are so many ruins of houses and portions of fallen towers still standing,

and such wonderful remains of walls and buildings of admirable workmanship. There are also a few monasteries still remaining out of so many ancient edifices, for the most part deserted, though formerly inhabited by such numerous societies of monks. The site of so great a city, though by time laid waste, proves the former existence of a large population; but very few inhabitants were found there now who could sell us food. But as the king was indisposed, we tarried there a few days, during which he waited the arrival of the ships that had wandered out of their course and lost us, and the galleys which followed him. He made inquiries also about that cruel tyrant, emperor of Cyprus, who was wont to detain the pilgrims who put in at his port.

CH. XXVIII.—*Of the departure of King Richard from Rhodes, through the gulf, and of the arrival of the queen at Cyprus.*

HAVING spent ten days at Rhodes, which is a very fertile and productive island, they went on board, and set out on their voyage on the 1st of May. They were borne on their course into that most dangerous place, called the Gulf of Satalia. There is a mighty strife of currents formed by the junction of four seas, struggled violently together, each dashing against and resisting the other. We were on the point of entering it, when lo! as if apprehensive of our safety, a contrary current carried us back to the place from whence we had started. But in a short time, the wind, which in those parts is constantly shifting, drove us from behind back again into the gulf, with the more danger from its increased violence. Fearing the effects of its fury, we did all we could to guard against the dangers of the place, and pass over the waves that boiled and foamed around. The royal ship was always in advance, and when the king lifted his eyes, he saw beneath a calm sky, a very large ship of the sort called a *buzza* (buza) bearing down, which was returning from Jerusalem. The king, therefore, speedily sent men to inquire for intelligence concerning the siege of Acre, from those who were in the ship; who replied that the king of France had already arrived at Acre in safety, and was diligently employed in making machines, until the arrival of the king of England. The king of France had put into the port of Acre on the Saturday of Easter week, and was applying all his energies to the taking of the city. He had therefore caused petruia

to be erected, and placed near the tower Maledictum, as well as other machines for throwing down the walls, for the king of France lay on the side near to that tower. By means of filling up and treading in the trenches, and bringing machines and petrariæ for casting stones, the wall was in part broken down; but not long afterwards, the machines were attacked and burnt to ashes by the exertions of the Turks. When King Richard heard all these things from the aforesaid sailors, the buss passed on its way, and he made all his arrangements in high spirits; and as the wind was not fair, he beat about, and toiled much to master its uncertainty; but the fleet, from the adverse gales, and the rising and falling of the waves, was forced back, and driven into the open sea. However, the buss from Lyons, in which the queens were, first put into the port of the city of Limozin, in the island of Cyprus; though they did not come to the land, but dropped their anchors at some distance out at sea.

CH. XXIX.—*Of the many misfortunes which befel the Holy Land, especially through the emperor of Cyprus.*

WITH what expiation do we deem the Holy Land to have been punished, or with what scourge smitten, or of what crime guilty, that so many adversaries should have resisted its succour, whereby assistance should have been so long deferred? Nay, it began to be believed that the cause of its redemption being so long delayed was the wickedness of its defenders; and it is very evident by many proofs that the Divine aid was withheld in consequence of the iniquity of its inhabitants; whence also it happened that the excellent soldiers of France, who were looked forward to as brave allies, were unseasonably taken away in the midst. For why need we speak of the death of the illustrious emperor of Germany, whose end sullied the glory of his former reign? or who could relate the grief felt for the death of the once rich and glorious Henry, king of England? By his money, the city of Tyre was preserved, and by his wisdom and prudence it was hoped that the Holy Land would be recovered. Lastly, what might we say of the decease of William, king of Sicily, who after he had made all the necessary preparations for his pilgrimage, and had oftentimes sent the wished-for aid, was cut off by sudden death, and closed his career? All these, and many other misfortunes, impeded the recovery of the

Holy Land, and each of them was more than enough to injure the cause. But there was one thing above all others, we mean that which concerned the island of Cyprus, from which the land of Jerusalem used annually to gain no small profit; but now, after shaking off the yoke of subjection, it disdained to give it any thing, by the direction of the tyrant of the island, who had usurped the imperial power. Most wicked of all bad men, and surpassing Judas in treachery, and Guenelon in treason, he wantonly persecuted all who professed the Christian religion. He was said to be a friend of Saladin, and it was reported that they had drunk each other's blood, as a sign and testimony of mutual treaty, as if by the mingling of blood outwardly, they might become kinsmen in reality. This, too, was afterwards evident by certain proofs; for the tyrant, gaining confidence by this step, and setting at naught the subjection which he owed, falsely usurped the name of emperor, and he was accustomed to seize upon every one who put into the island of his own accord, or was driven thereto by the violence of the wind, that he might extract a ransom from the rich, and force the poor to become slaves. When, therefore, he learnt that a strange fleet had arrived, he determined, according to his custom, to seize upon all who were on board, and, having plundered them of their money, to keep them captives.

CH. XXX.—*Of the shipwreck and misfortune of some of our men, and of their capture and imprisonment; also of the attack they made and the victory they gained over the islanders of Cyprus.*

On the vigil of St. Mark the Evangelist, a little before sunset, dark clouds covered the horizon, and the spirit of the storm rushed forth, and the violence of the wind disturbed the waters; some of our ships which had been dispersed by the shifting of the winds, while attempting to reach the island of Cyprus before his arrival, were driven by adverse waves and wind on the rocks; and though the sailors used their utmost efforts to resist the wind that assailed them, three of the king's ships filled and went to pieces, and some of those on board were drowned; but some who had by chance caught hold of the timbers of the ship, were by this means, and not without the greatest toil, from the tossing of the waves, cast on shore naked and penniless. Amongst those who were drowned was Roger, sur-

named Malus Catulus, the king's signet-bearer, and the signet was lost. But on the body being cast on shore by the tide, a man found the signet on him, and brought it to the army for sale; and thus it was redeemed, and restored to the king. As to the sailors who were cast on shore, the inhabitants, under the garb of peace, hailed their coming with joy; and, as if to recruit them, introduced them into a certain fort close by; and all those who put to shore in safety, the Griffons stripped of their arms, and conducted to the same place, asserting that if they entered in arms, they might appear to be spies, or to have intentions of attacking the island, and they would wait until they ascertained the will of the emperor. But our nobles compassionating the shipwrecked men who were detained in custody, sent them clothing and other necessaries. Also Stephen de Turnham, the king's steward and treasurer, sent them abundance of provisions, which, as they were brought to the entrance of the fort for the captives, were plundered by the Griffons and guards of the city. However they pacified them with specious language, and did not yet shew their enmity openly, but they would not set them at liberty until the emperor had been informed of what had happened; meanwhile, they promised with crafty words to supply them with every thing necessary. They then convened the nobles of the land, and entered into counsel to keep captive as many of the pilgrims as they could by stratagem, and then slay them; which when it became known to our men, they shut themselves up of their own accord in the fort, with the intention of defending themselves, and some of them were killed by the natives. Thus, considering that danger really threatened them, they chose to stand the hazard of a battle, rather than die of starvation by falling into the hands of the infidel persecutors of Christians. Therefore, when they had come forth from the fort and reached a certain plain, the natives began to surround and kill them; but though unarmed, they resisted as much as they could, and effected not less slaughter than their adversaries, though they had only three bows to defend themselves with, which they had kept concealed from the natives. There was amongst them one Roger de Hardecourt, who, having found a mare and mounted her, rode down the crowd that opposed him; and also William du Bois, a Norman, and a most skilful archer, scattered first these, then those, by casting darts and arrows

at them incessantly. The soldiers who were yet on board, seeing this, came hastily with their arms to their succour; and the Griffons, with their bows and slings, hindered them as much as they could from landing; but by the protection of the Lord they sallied from their ships and came into port unhurt. At last, after the Griffons had been dispersed and were giving way, the pilgrims, coming out of the aforesaid fort, and defending themselves, came in the rear, and made their way to the port, where they found our men, who had disembarked from their ships, fighting with all their might against the Griffons who opposed them. Having thus formed a junction, they dispersed the Griffons, and gained the port of Limozin, in which was the buss of the two queens that had put in before the arrival of King Richard, as has been said before; but owing to their ignorance of the state of the island, and from dread of the cruelty and treachery of the emperor, they had not disembarked.

CH. XXXI — *Of the arrival of King Richard at Cyprus.*

ON the same day, towards evening, on which the pilgrims had made their exit from the aforesaid port, viz. on a Thursday, the emperor of Cyprus, who had been informed of their arrival, came to the city; and when the pilgrims made complaint of the injuries they had received, the emperor promised every kind of satisfaction, and agreed to restore the money taken from the shipwrecked men; and they also obtained entrance and egress into and from the city of Limozin, on condition of a mutual exchange of four men as hostages. Meanwhile, the emperor gave orders that the warriors of all his empire should be assembled, and a mighty army formed. The day after his arrival, the emperor sent a crafty message to the two queens, bidding them put to shore for greater security, and go about as they pleased without fear of molestation or ill-treatment from his people; and on their refusing, he sent them the next day, under pretence of paying them respect, bread and ram's flesh and wine from the vineyards of Cyprus, which are said to have no match for quality throughout the world. On the third day, also, he tried to circumvent and beguile them, by bland and deceptive messages, and on the other hand they were in great state of perplexity, lest the emperor should make

them prisoners, if they should listen to him, or else, if they obstinately refused, they must fear some violence; for as yet nothing was known of the expected arrival of the king, or the good condition of his fleet; but they kept him in suspense by returning an ambiguous answer, saying, that on the morrow they would place themselves at his disposal. In expectation of the fulfilment of this promise, the emperor kept quiet; and while the queens were agitated by intense anxiety, and were questioning and conversing with each other, that same day, being Sunday, behold! there appeared in the distance, like crows, on the foaming summit of the curling waters, two vessels, driven forwards and sailing swiftly towards them. And while the queens, and those with them, were in doubt as to what they were, some more ships were espied coming on, and directly after the whole fleet was seen, bearing down with rapid course to the port; and conjecturing that it was the king's fleet, they were so much the more rejoiced that it had come to their succour, when they were despairing of their desolate position. And thus King Richard arrived by the guidance of the Lord, after many dangers overcome, in the port of Cyprus. Therefore, on the festival of St. John 'before the Latin Gate (May 6), King Richard put into the port of Limozin, with all his fleet, but did not go on shore.

CH. XXXII.—*How King Richard with his forces, routed the emperors with his forces, first by sea and then by land.*

WHEN the king learnt in what danger the shipwrecked men had been, and how they were plundered of their property, and all that had happened in the interim, he was exceedingly angry; and on the morrow, being Monday, he sent two knights to the emperor, to ask satisfaction of him, in a peaceful manner, for the injuries received, and the money he had plundered, at his will. The emperor was very indignant at this demand, and just as though he himself had been the injured man, burst out into abusive language, saying, "Pruht, Sire," and declaring he had nothing to do with a king; boasting, as he did, for the assumption of *imperial* authority, and wholly confiding in impunity from Heaven, he acted just as it pleased him. When the ambassadors brought back his answer the king, irritated at the emperor's arrogance, his

abusive reply, and the loss his own men had sustained, shouted out aloud, "To arms!" a command his men immediately obeyed. Therefore the king, having armed himself, proceeded, in the boats of the "Esneckars," with his soldiers, to seize on the port; but the emperor, with a large army, surrounded it, and resisted their landing, and they blocked up the entrance to the port with every kind of bar and obstacle, taking the doors and windows from the houses, casks with hoops, benches and ladders, and long pieces of wood, placed crosswise; also, bucklers and shields, old galleys, abandoned vessels, dirty from being laid up, and every description of utensil, to prevent their coming on shore;—in a word, every thing portable of wood or stone that could be found in the city of Limozin, the Griffons piled upon the shore to oppose the assailants. Moreover, the emperor and his troops marched up and down the beach. Oh! how splendidly was the emperor's host equipped! They had on costly armour, and very valuable and many-coloured garments, and rode on war-horses that champed the foaming bit, and beautiful mules; they marched to and fro, ready for battle, their numberless pennons and gorgeous banners floating in the breeze, to keep off those that were advancing, or to give them battle. As our men were endeavouring to reach the shore, they tried to frighten them by horrible shoutings, like growling dogs, and abused them as if they had been curs, and told them they were hastening after what it was impossible to accomplish. They also had some slingers and archers and five galleys on the shore, well armed, and filled with young men skilled in sea-fights. Our troops, who were making for the port to seize upon it, blocked up as it was, seemed no match for the enemy, because they were exposed in small boats, and were also much fatigued by long tossing about on the sea, and besides, they were foot soldiers, burdened with their proper arms; the natives, on the contrary, were in their own country, and could do every thing at pleasure. So when our men approached in their boats, in order, they determined on coming to close quarters to drive off the slingers and archers in the galleys, and against them our archers and slingers directed their attacks; and the Griffons, after losing a great many of their men, gave way, for they could not withstand the brunt of the battle. And when the arrows flew thickly, three or four

at a time leaped out of the galleys into the sea, and dived under water, where they perished, by knocking against each other in their attempts to seek refuge in flight. The galleys, therefore, being captured, and our boats come to shore, our slingers and archers, gaining courage by success, sent a shower of arrows, like rain, at those who were guarding the landing-place. The Griffons not able to stand the charge, retreated from the beach to firmer ground, while their arbalesters and ours kept constantly throwing darts, so that the sky was darkened, and the calmness of day seemed to grow into night from the shower of arrows, while the whole city swarmed with men, and the neighbourhood was filled with a multitude of men plying their engines. It was a long time doubtful on which side the victory lay, or which party was superior; for our troops, though they strove with all their strength, did not make progress. The king, perceiving that his men were not daring enough to get out of their boats, and make for the shore, leaped first from his barge into the water, and boldly attacked the Griffons; and then our soldiers, imitating his example, eagerly sought to put the enemy to flight; and having made an impression on their troops, forced them to give way. Then you might see a shower of flying darts, and the Greeks cut down; and you might hear the murmurs of the combatants, the groans of the dying, and the yells of the retreating. Then, also, our men in a body, mowing down the Greeks as they fled in confusion, drove them first into the city, and from thence to the plains beyond. The king, pushing on in pursuit of the emperor, found a common horse, upon which he speedily vaulted by the aid of a lance, placed behind the saddle, and rode on with cords for stirrups. The king thus hastily pressed after the emperor, crying out, "My lord the emperor, I challenge you to single combat;" but, as though he were deaf, he fled swiftly away. The king, having thus taken the city, caused the two queens to be landed from the buss and lodged in Limozin, where, after the fatigues and perils of their voyage, they recruited themselves in security.

Ch. XXXIII.—*Further of the fight between the king and the emperor, and of the victory of the king and the flight of the emperor to Nicæa.*

THE same night the king lodged in his pavilion, and caused his horses to be landed by the Esneckars. But the emperor,

not thinking he had any horses, feared him the less, and passed the night encamped within a distance of two leagues. On the morrow, about two o'clock, the king mounted his horse, and discovered some Greeks standing not far off in an olive-yard with their gorgeous banners, and on their taking to flight, he pursued them. But forasmuch as our horses had been injured by being tossed about on the sea, standing for a whole month, our men spared them and went at a moderate pace, until they saw the army of the emperor, which had spent the night in a valley, and then they stopped in their pursuit. The Greeks, crying out with a horrible clamour, began to insult our men; on which the emperor, aroused from his sleep, mounted his horse, and marched with his men towards ours gradually, as far as a neighbouring hill, where he took his station to overlook the engagement. The Greeks making use only of their bows and slings, cried out that our men were immovable. Then there came to the king a certain clerk, by name Hugo de Mara, in arms, and said to the king, "My lord the king, it appears to be a wise plan to decline for a time so large and so powerful a multitude." To whom the king answered, "Sir clerk, as for our profession, you had better employ yourself in writing, and leave war to us, and take good care to keep out of the crowd." Others likewise dissuaded the king from fighting against so mighty a host: indeed he had not with him at that time more than fifty men; but taking courage from the enemy's wavering, he put spurs to his horse, and was suddenly carried against the enemy, and piercing through their line, scattered them, and attacking first one and then the other, he instantly dispersed them. For when their army perceived that their adversaries were collecting together, their valour gave way, and they took to flight; those who had swift and nimble horses escaped, but the foot-soldiers and common people, who were less fitted for flight, were slain in all directions without distinction, and could not fly further, on account of the arrival of the king. And while the emperor was encouraging and animating his men to fight, the king coming suddenly upon him at full speed, knocked him off his horse with his lance; but he quickly procured another, and escaped in the crowd: some of his companions, however, were lost. Oh! how many noble horses might you have seen slain there, and coats of mail, and

helmets, and swords, and lances, and pennons fallen down, and standards of various shapes, and the bodies of dead men weltering in their blood, and some yet breathing their last, in countless numbers. The emperor, perceiving the boldness of our men, and the flight of his own, and not forgetting his spurs, which he saw were the only thing that remained, fled with the utmost swiftness to the mountains. The king struck down his banner-bearer, and gave orders that the splendid and beautiful banner should be kept for him. Then our horsemen pursued the fugitives as fast as they could for two miles; after which, coming back at a moderate pace, they quietly returned. The people then turning to the booty, took much spoil, viz. arms, and costly woven vestments, and the tent of the emperor, with all the vessels of gold and silver which were found therein, and all his splendid apparel and household stuff: besides coats of mail, helmets, choice swords, horses and mules, and also very much plunder in sheep and cattle, and goats, noble mares and mules, swine, fowls, and hens; and they also found choice wines and provisions of all sorts, and carried off a host of captives; so that from the immense quantity of plunder they became fastidious,—in a word, every mind was satiated with booty, nor would they regard any thing that was precious when offered them, for they were amply laden. After these things were done, the king proclaimed an edict by herald, that whoever of the inhabitants were disposed for peace, might go and return as they liked without harm from his men, and enjoy perfect liberty; but that whoever held the king as an enemy, should take care not to fall into his hands, or those of the army, for he would certainly treat him as a foe, and that he would prove himself such as they stood to him. By these means the emperor lost very many of his men, who constantly deserted him. At last he betook himself to a very strong fort called Nicosia, in confusion and sorrow at having failed in his intentions.

CH. XXXIV.—*Of the arrival of King Guy at Cyprus.*

On the following Saturday three galleys bore in sight, and all doubted what they could mean, or whence they came. The king, always prompt, not to say venturous, embarked in a small vessel impelled with oars, and went to meet them and inquire who the comers were and whence they came; and on their answering that it was Guy de Lusignan, the king

returned quickly and ordered supper to be immediately prepared for the guests that were coming. And when King Guy landed, he received him with the greatest respect, and entertained him most cordially. King Guy had come to King Richard to ask his advice and assistance against the king of France, who had planned that the marquis, of whom we have before spoken, should be made king of Jerusalem, and Guy be deposed. Then King Richard welcomed him kindly, and honoured him with gifts, because he was poor and destitute of means; for he gave him two thousand marks of silver and twenty cups of the value of a hundred and five marks, of which two were of the purest gold.

CH. XXXV.—*Of the nuptials of King Richard and Berengaria, and of the arrival of the king's galleys.*

ON the morrow, viz. on the Sunday, which was the festival of St. Pancras, the marriage of King Richard and Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre, was solemnized at Limozin: she was a damsel of the greatest prudence and most accomplished manners, and there she was crowned queen. There were present at the ceremony the archbishop, and the bishop of Evreux, and the bishop of Baneria, and many other chiefs and nobles. The king was glorious on this happy occasion, and cheerful to all, and shewed himself very jocose and affable. The nuptials having been solemnly celebrated in a royal manner, one day all the king's galleys, which had been anxiously looked for, arrived in port: they were equipped and defended with splendid armouries, and no one ever saw better or safer ships; and he added to them the five galleys which he had taken from the emperor. The king had thus forty armed galleys and sixty others of a very good quality.

CH. XXXVI.—*Of the conference and the manner of making peace between the king and the emperor.*

THE king, elated with success, thought that fortune smiled upon him; he therefore exhorted his soldiers to expedition, and commanded them to get every thing in readiness, lest the emperor should make a sudden attack upon them; and he caused watches to be kept, and appointed sentinels to guard the army. The king proposed with his army to pursue the emperor wherever he was, and so take him by force